

NOTES ON THE RELATIONS AND TRADE OF CHINA WITH THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO AND THE COAST OF THE INDIAN OCEAN DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

PART II

BY

W. W. ROCKHILL. ¹⁾

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The works which form the basis of the following description of the countries and localities in or near the Eastern Archipelago, Southern Asia, and Eastern Africa known to the Chinese during the latter part of the Yüan dynasty and the beginning of that of the Ming, (approximately from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth centuries), are four in number:

1. Wang Ta-yüan's *Tao i chih lio*, dated 1349.
2. Ma Huan's *Ying yai shêng lan*, 1425—1432 (?).
3. Fei Hsin's *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, dated 1436.
4. Huang Shêng-ts'êng's *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, dated 1520.

(1) According to the "Catalogue of Books in the Imperial Library", or *Ssü k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu* (四庫全書總目片, 12), the *Tao i chih lio* (島夷志畧), or "Description of the Barbarians

1) See *T'oung pao*, July 1914, p. 419.

of the Isles", was written by a native of Nan-ch'ang (南昌) in Kiang-si by the name of Wang Ta-yüan (汪大淵), with the cognomen of Huan-chang (換 (or 煥) 章), who visited for purposes of trade a considerable number of foreign localities during the *chih-ch'êng* period of the Yüan (1341—1367), and who recored what he had seen in this work.

This book, it goes on to state, is noteworthy as a strictly personal, and consequently trustworthy, record, resembling in that the later work of Ma Huan, and differing from the earlier work (*Chu fan chih*) of Chao Ju-kua, Customs Commissioner of Fu-kien, who did not write from personal observations but only from reports made to him by others.

The date assigned above for the travels of Wang Ta-yüan is not quite correct, but though there does not seem to have been preserved any author's preface to the work, one of the three prefaces and the postface attached to the modern reprint of the book in the collection published in 1896 by Lung Fêng-piao (龍鳳鏹) under the title of *Chih-fu-ch'ai ts'ung-shu* (知服齋叢書) fixes the date of its composition in the winter of 1349—50, for this preface, by Wu Chien of San shan (三山吳鑒), a Customs Taot'ai of Ch'üan-chou in Fu-kien, bears the date of 12th moon of the 9th year *chih-ch'êng* (beginning of 1350).

There are only two dates to be found in the body of the book which are of importance, but from the one we conclude that Wang Ta-yüan was already travelling in 1230, and from the other we learn that he probably put the last touches to his work after the summer of 1349¹).

1) Ch. 79 (*Ta fo shan, infra* 56 (1)), he says that in the winter of the year *k'êng-wu* of the *chih-shun* period (1330) he was sailing for two days along the foot of the Ta Fo shan (Dondera Head, Ceylon?). Ch. 33 (*Hsien, infra* 5 (1)), he refers to an attack by forses from Hsien (Siam) at Lo-hu (on the lower Ménam) in the summer of the year *ki-ch'ou* of the *chih-ch'êng* period (1249).

Wang's book is divided into an hundred chapters or sections, in which he describes ninety-nine countries, ports, and noteworthy localities from the Pescadores and the Moluccas in the east to Arabia and the east coast of Africa in the west. Most of the places mentioned he may have visited, though it is very doubtful whether he ever reached the remoter ones, Timor, for instance, and most of the places in the Far West. Some he certainly did not, such as Ma-lu-kien (馬魯淵, Merv?) and Ma-ho-ssü-li (麻呵斯離, Mosul?). However this may be most of the information he gives concerning even the remotest places in the east or west is valuable in one way or another, and sufficient in the generality of cases to enable us to locate them roughly, though in a number of cases the names used by him to designate them cannot as yet be identified. Some of the places in the Eastern Archipelago at which his junk anchored were, in all likelihood, little trading-ports which have long since disappeared, or are now known by quite different names. Many of the names he uses do not occur in the books of the early Ming travellers, nor are they found on the few Chinese maps of the beginning of that period which are known to me.

Although Wang was familiar with the books of travels of the later Sung writers, the *Ling wai tai ta* of Chou K'ü fei and the *Chu fan chih* of Chao Ju-kua, he quotes them but rarely, and when he refers to localities mentioned by them he often uses different characters in writing their names. I have only found five passages in the whole book which are quotations from the *Chu fan chih*, one in the section on the Philippines (三島), one in that on Paurang (賓童龍), two in that on Palembang (三佛齊) and one in that on India (天竺). Nevertheless, the influence which the book of Chao Ju-kua exercised on him has been very great; it served him as a model, and he has followed it closely in the arrangement of his text, noting carefully, with tedious regularity,

and generally in the identical terms used by the earlier writer, the same local peculiarities in customs, dress, religion, products, trade, etc.

Though Wang's literary style is poor, he appears from a number of remarks made here and there in his work, to have been a man of considerable culture and broad reading, and of a philosophic turn of mind. The only chapter of this work which has heretofore been translated is that on Mecca (*T'ien-tang*) which was rendered into English by Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, II, 300—301. Prior to this a few quotations taken from the *Tung hsi yang k'ao* and other works in which they figured in footnotes were all that was known to students unacquainted with the Chinese language of this important book.

The following table gives the contents of this book. The only order followed by the author in arranging his materials is a general division of eastern countries and western ones, but even in this there are frequent exceptions.

The two first figures (one in brackets) on the left hand side of each entry in the table correspond with those occupying similar positions in the title line of the translations given below. The third figure indicates the order of the chapter or section in the original work. These observations apply to all the texts translated here.

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| | 1. P'êng-hu (澎湖), Pescadore islands. |
| | 2. Liu-kiu (琉球), north-western Formosa. |
| 51 (1). | 3. San tao (三島), portion of northern Philippines. |
| 50 (1). | 4. Ma-i (麻逸), portion of northern Philippines. |
| | 5. Wu-chih-pa (無枝拔), unidentified (produced tin, in Malay Peninsula?). |
| 33 (1). | 6. Lung-yen hsü (龍涎嶼), Pulo Rondo (coast N.W. Sumatra). |

7. Kiao-chih (交趾), Tongking.
- 1 (1). 8. Chan-ch'êng (占城), Annam.
9. Min-to-lang (民多郎), unidentified (produced ebony, in Malay Peninsula?).
- 3 (1). 10. Pin-t'ung-lung (賓童龍), Panrang.
- 6 (1). 11. Chên-la (真臘), Kamboja.
- 16 (1). 12. Tan-ma-ling (丹馬令), Tembeling (? north Pahang, Malay Peninsula).
- 4 (1). 13. Jih-li (日麗), Jarai (?), a dependency of Chên-la.
- 9 (1). 14. Ma-li-lu (麻里嚕), unidentified, a dependency of Chên-la.
- 15 (1). 15. Hsia-lai-wu (遐來物), unidentified.
- 13 (1). 16. P'êng-k'êng (彭坑), Pahang.
- 14 (1). 17. Ki-lan-tan (吉蘭丹), Kilantan.
- 12 (1). 18. T'ing-kia-lu (丁家盧). Trengganu.
- 21 (1). 19. Jung (戎), an aboriginal tribe of Malay Peninsula (?).
- 7 (1). 20. Lo-wei (羅衛), Ligor (?).
- 8 (1). 21. Lo-hu (羅斛), Lopburi, Lower Menam district.
- 48 (1). 22. Tung-chung-ku-la (東冲古刺), Tanjongpura (?), S.W. Borneo.
23. So-lo-ko (蘇洛鬪), unidentified.
24. Chên-lu (針路), unidentified, a dependency of Chên-la?
- 40 (1). 25. Pa-tu-ma (八都馬), Tioman island (??), S.E. coast Malay Peninsula.
- 38 (1). 26. Tan-mo (淡邇), unidentified.
27. Chien shan (尖山, "the Peak"), unidentified.
- 35 (1). 28. Pa-ch'ieh-na-chien (八節那門), near Surabaya (Java).
- 24 (1). 29. San-fo-ch'i (三佛齊), Eastern Sumatra.
30. Hsiao-pên (嘯噴), unidentified (near Kedah, Malay Peninsula?).

- 47 (1). 31. P'o-ni (浮泥), north-western Borneo, Brunei.
- 71 (1). 32. P'êng-kia-lo (朋家羅), Bacanor (?), Faknur of the Arabs.
- 5 (1). 33. Hsien (暹), Siam.
- 34 (1). 34. Chao-wa (爪哇), Java (Majapahit).
- 37 (1). 35. Chung-kia-lo (重迦羅), Janggolo, in Eastern Java.
36. Tu-tu-an (都督岸), unidentified (in Sumatra?).
- 41 (1). 37. Wên-tan (文誕), Banda, Molocca islands.
- 52 (1). 38. Su-lu (蘇祿), Sulu Archipelago.
- 19 (1). 39. Lung-ya-hsi-chio (龍牙犀角), Lankawi islands.
40. Su-mên-pang (蘇門傍), Sumbawa island (?).
- 25 (1). 41. Ch'iu-chiang (舊港), Palembang (and Jambi, Sumatra).
- 20 (1). 42. Lung-ya-po-t'i (龍牙菩提), unidentified.
43. P'i-shê-yeh (毗舍耶), south-western Formosa.
- 23 (1). 44. Pan-tsu (班率), Batam (or Bintang) island (?).
- 36 (1). 45. P'u-pên (浦奔), near Madura island, Bawean (?).
- 45 (1). 46. Kia-li-ma-ta (假里馬打), Karimata island.
- 43 (1). 47. Wên-lao-ku (文老古), Molucca islands (Ternate?).
- 42 (1). 48. Ku-li Ti-mên (古里地悶), Timor.
- 22 (1). 49. Lung-ya mên (龍牙門), Singapore Strait.
- 10 (1). 50. K'un-lun (崑崙), Pulo Condor.
- 2 (1). 51. Ling shan (靈山), Cape Sanho (Annam).
- 17 (1). 52. Tung hsi chu (東西竺), Anamba islands.
- 28 (1). 53. Chi shui wan (急水灣), Surat Passage (? coast north Sumatra).
- 30 (1). 54. Hua mien (花面), the Battaks (Sumatra).
- 27 (1). 55. Tan yang (淡洋), mouth of Tamiang river (Sumatra).
- 32 (1). 56. Hsü-wên-ta-la (須文答刺), Samudra (Acheh, Sumatra).
- 54 (1). 57. Sêng-kia-la (僧加刺), Ceylon (Belligam).
- 44 (1). 48. Kou-lan shan (勾欄山), Gerau island, coast of Borneo.

59. T'ê-fan-li (特番里), also called Hsiao Shih (小食),
in Sumatra (?).
- 68 (1). 60. Pan-ta-li (班達里), Fandaraina (?).
61. Man-t'o-lang (曼陀郎), unidentified.
- 31 (1). 62. Nau-wu-li (喃呖哩), Lambri (Acheh, Sumatra).
- 59 (1). 63. Pei Lin (北溜), northern Maldive islands.
- 65 (1). 64. Hsia-li (下里), Hili, Ras Haïli of the Arabs.
- 57 (1). 65. Kao-lang-pu (高郎步), Colombo.
- 69 (1). 66. Sha-li-pa-tan (沙里八丹), Jurfattan (? Cananore).
- 54 (1. n.). 67. "The Golden Pagoda" (金塔), at base Dondera Head,
Ceylon.
- 39 (1). 68. Eastern Tan-mo (東淡邈), unidentified.
69. Ta-pa-tan (大八丹), Budfattan of the Arabs (?).
70. Kia-li-na (加里那), unidentified; noted for long-sailed
sheep.
71. "The Earthen Pagoda" (土塔), near Jurfattan.
- 58 (1). 72. Ti san chiang (第三港), in Gulf of Manar (?).
- 70 (1). 73. Hua-lo (華羅), Honore (? Honawar).
74. Ma-na-li (麻那里), unidentified; in East-Africa (?).
75. Kia-chiang-mên-li (加將門里), unidentified.
76. Po-ssü-li (波斯離), Persia.
77. Ta-chi-na (撻吉那), unidentified; noted for gardenia
flowers.
78. Chien-li-na (千里馬), unidentified; possibly near
Nº 59.
- 56 (1). 79. "The Great Buddha Mountain" (大佛山), Dondera
Head.
- 67 (1). 80. Hsü-wên-na (須文那), Mangalore (?).
81. "The myriad li reef" (萬里石塘), Macclesfield Banks.
- 62 (1). 82. Hsiao Kū-nau (小喩喃), Kain Colam.
- 66 (1). 83. Ku-li-fo (古里佛), Calicut.

- 60 (1). 84. P'êng-ka-la (朋加刺), Bengal.
- 49 (1). 85. Pa-nan-pa-hsi (巴南巴西), Banjarmasin (? Borneo).
- 72 (1). 86. Fang-pai (放拜), Bombay (?).
87. Ta wu tieh (大烏爹), unidentified; in Africa (?).
88. Wan nien chiang (萬年港), near Lingga island (?).
89. Ma-pa-erh hsü (馬八兒嶼), unidentified, near N^o 75.
90. A-ssü-li (阿思里), unidentified, remotest South-West.
- 84 (1). 91. Li-ch'ieh-t'a (哩伽塔), unidentified, a tribe of Somaliland (?).
- 80 (1). 92. T'ien-t'ang (天堂), Mecca.
93. T'ien-chu (天竺), India "under King of Ta Ts'in".
- 82 (1). 94. Ts'êng-yao-lo (層搖羅), Zanguebar.
95. Ma-lu-chien (馬魯潤), Merv (?).
- 83 (1). 96. Kan-mai-li (甘埋里), Comoro islands.
- 81 (1). 97. Ma-ho-ssü-li (麻呵斯離), al-Mawsil (? Mosul).
- 85 (1). 98. Lo-p'o-ssü (羅婆斯), on Berbera coast (Somaliland).
- 61 (1). 99. Wu-tieh (烏爹), Orissa.
100. Resumé of strange fact (異聞類聚).

Within the last few years the text of the *Tao i chih lio* has been republished with annotations by Shên Ts'êng-chih (沈曾植), a scholar of Kia-shing in Chê-kiang, in the collection of reprints published in Shanghai and entitled *Ku hsio hui k'an* (古學彙刊), in the 3rd and 4th Series, Parts II. The title of Shên's work is *Tao i chih lio kuang chêng* (島夷志畧廣證). The editor is familiar with the early literature on the subject and in several places has been able to suggest valuable corrections to the text, basing them sometimes on a manuscript copy of the *Tao i chih lio* to which he had access. His text reproduces exactly that given in the *Chih fu ch'ai ts'ung shu*.

In his notes he makes use of the *Ling wai tai ta*, the *Chu fan*

chih, the works of Ma Huan, of Fei Hsin, and of Huang Shêng-ts'êng, of the Supplement to Ma Tuan-lin's Encyclopedia, and of other works of the latter part of the Ming period, also of sailing directions, with which I am unfamiliar. Some of his identifications of names mentioned by Wang Ta-yüan are correct, but many of them quite unlikely. I have made frequent reference to this work in my footnotes.

(2) The *Ying yai shêng lan* (瀛涯勝覽) or "Description of the coasts of the Ocean", was written by Ma Huan (馬觀) of Ki shan (稽山, or Ki shan k'iao 稽山樵), an otherwise unknown Chinese Moslim who, according to the preface of his work was, on account of his knowledge of foreign languages, attached as interpreter to the 1413 mission to explore foreign lands entrusted by the Emperor Yung-lo of the Ming to the eunuch Chêng Ho. This work is in one book, divided into eighteen sections, in which are given descriptions of nineteen countries visited by the author during his connexion with the mission.

The *Ssü k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu* (78, 15) says of this work:

"This book was written by an otherwise unknown man of the Ming period called Ma Huan. The contents mostly record events of the time of Chêng Ho's foreign missions, so it was written after the reign of Yung-lo.

"The foreign countries described in it are Chan-ch'êng (Annam), Chao-wa (Java), Ch'iu-chiang (Palembang), Hsien-lo (Siam), Man-la-ka (Malacca), A-lu (Aru), Su-mên-ta-la (Sumatra), Nan-po-li (Lambri), Hsi-lan (Ceylon), Hsiao Ko-lan (Quilon), Ko-chih (Cochin), Ku-li (Calicut), Liu shan, Tieh-kan (Maldivé Islands), Tsu-fa-erh (Djofar), A-tan (Aden), Pang-ko-la (Bengal), and Hu-lu-mo-ssü (Ormuz), in all nineteen countries in eighteen chapters, for the

notice on Na-ku-erh, as it referred to a very small country, forms a supplement to the chapter on Su-mên-ta-la.

"Each chapter gives a description of the boundaries, the distances, the customs, the products, and also touches on (recent) political events.

"Generally speaking this work is in close agreement with the Historical Section (of the *Ming shih*)".

The contents of the *Ying yai shêng lun* are arranged as follows:

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|---------|--|
| 1 (2). | 1. Chan-ch'êng (Annam). |
| 34 (2). | 2. Chao-wa (Java). |
| 25 (2). | 3. Ch'iu-chiang (Palembang). |
| 5 (2). | 4. Hsien-lo (Siam). |
| 11 (1). | 5. Man-la-ka (Malacca). |
| 26 (1). | 6. A-lu (Aru, Sumatra). |
| 32 (2). | 7. Su-mên-ta-la, Na-ku-erh (Acheh, Battaks). |
| 29 (1). | 8. Li-tai (Lidé, Sumatra). |
| 31 (2). | 9. Nan-po-li (Lambri, Sumatra). |
| 55 (1). | 10. Hsi-lan (Ceylon). |
| 62 (2). | 11. Hsiao Ko-lan (Quilon). |
| 64 (1). | 12. Ko-chih (Cochin). |
| 66 (2). | 13. Ku-li (Calicut). |
| 59 (2). | 14. Liu-shan, Tieh-kan (Maldivé Islands). |
| 75 (1). | 15. Tsu-fa-erh (Djofar, Arabia). |
| 74 (1). | 16. A-tan (Aden, Arabia). |
| 60 (2). | 17. P'ang-ko-la (Bengal). |
| 73 (1). | 18. Hu-lu-mo-ssü (Ormuz). |

The original edition of this work is only known to me through a printed copy in my possession bearing no date or name or place of printing, but which I am inclined to think is probably of the very late Ming period. In this copy there is no preface, explanatory

or bibliographic note, concerning the work and its author; only the text.

The text of this edition was, some years after its first publication, but not earlier than 1436 or 1437, amplified by a certain Chang Shêng (張昇). This date seems certain, for Chang unquestionably used materials derived from Fei Hsin's *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* of 1436, and presumably some from Kung Chên's *Hsi yang fan kuo chih* of 1434. He altered considerably the arrangement of paragraphs in the original work of Ma Huan. He also, I think, added a preface to which is appended the name of Ma Huan and the date of 1416, changed some of the dates, and introduced data taken from earlier works of the Sung and Yüan periods, principally the *Chu fan chih* of Chao Ju-kua (of 1225) and the *Tao i chih lio* of Wang Ta-yüan (of 1348).

I have consulted a manuscript copy of this edition of Chang Shêng which is in the British Museum (O. R. 6191). This version was made use of by George Phillips and Groeneveldt in their translations of the *Ying yai shêng lan*. I have followed in my translation the earlier and shorter text.

This amplified text of the *Ying yai shêng lan* is found in the collection of miscellaneous works of the Ming, entitled, *Ki lu hui pien* (紀錄彙編), published in 1617, and also in several other subsequent similar collections, but I have not been able to compare these texts with that of the British Museum copy. I fancy, however, they are all taken from the same original, and they probably only vary here and there as a result of negligent copying.

The date given to the preface attributed to Ma Huan in Chang Shêng's edition, to wit 1416, cannot possibly be correct, for in it Ma Huan gives the Emperor Yung-lo his posthumous title of T'ai-tsung-wên Huang-ti, which only came into use the year after his death, or in 1425. Furthermore, in the chapter on Su-mên-ta-la

in the *Ying yai shêng lan* reference is made in connexion with the mission of Chêng Ho to that country which occurred in 1407, to events which occurred in 1424. It is to be noted, furthermore, that the *Ssu k'u ch'üan shu t'i yao* (78, 15) assigns no date to this book, but says that, "referring to events of the time of Cheng Ho's mission it must have been written after the Yung-lo reign".

It seems safe to assign to the first publication of Ma Huan's work a date between 1425 and 1432.

The following is a translation of the Preface to Chang Shêng's edition of this work:

"I had in years gone by read the *Tao i chih* which records the peculiarities of the seasons of various countries, of their peoples and products, and I, doubting, wondered how there could be things in the world so different from what we know them. But in the year *kuei-ssü* (癸巳) of Yung-lo (A.D. 1413) the Emperor T'ai-tsung-wên appointed the eunuch Chêng Ho to take ships and proceed to the foreign peoples of the West to explore, and I had bestowed on me by the Throne the post of interpreter of foreign languages and writing to the mission.

"After having voyaged endless thousands and myriads of *li* across the boundless, waving waters of the Ocean, and after having seen the different states, their varying seasons and climates, their peoples and their products, I came to know that not only were the statements of the *Tao i chih* concerning foreign lands not lies, but that there were even more wonderful and stranger things than it had told of.

"So I have got together all that is good or bad concerning the peoples and things of each country, and have described the strangeness of their customs, the various products of their soil, the boundaries of their lands, and arranged all this in order, and have thus come to compose this book which I have called *Ying yai shêng lan*, or

"A comprehensive survey of the shores of the Ocean". In it at a glance one may ascertain all the facts relating to foreign parts, and recognize that during no previous dynasty has the sacred influence of the Throne been so widespread as at the present time.

"I am but a stupid, incompetent driveller, but in the discharge of my work with the mission of Chêng Ho I candidly and honestly set down many strange things and nothing more, for I am without literary ability, unable to use a metaphor or amend a text; I can only put down things as I know them to be. This review has nothing in it of a doubtful nature which can be held up to ridicule".

Published (述) in the year *ping-shên* (丙申, A.D. 1416) of Yung-lo, in the *huang-chung* (黃鍾 or 11th moon), by Ma Huan of Hui-ki shan k'iao (曾 乂 山 樵).

(3) The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* (星槎勝覽), or "Description of the stary raft", is the work of a certain Fei Hsin (費信) who, during the reigns of the Emperor Yung-lo and his successor, Hsüan-tê, say from 1405 when the first named Emperor sent a mission to the south-west, to 1435, made several voyages in the suite of the famous eunuch Chêng Ho; in what capacity does not appear, but presumably as a secretary or clerk.

Fei Hsin's preface bears date 1436. It contains very little of interest beyond the remark that during the twenty-five odd years during which he was at various times visiting foreign lands he carefully noted the peculiar customs and products of the localities he came to, and "compiled maps" (輯圖), after which he wrote the present volume. It may be that these maps (if *t'u* has this meaning in the present case) were the originals from which was made the fifteenth century map reproduced by George Phillips in the *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, but this is a mere surmise.

In the body of the work there is found only one date which may give any indication as to when the author was on his travels. In the chapter on Java he states that from old records preserved in the country he learned that 1376 years "counting from the 7th year of Hsüan-tê (1432)" had elapsed since civilization was first introduced into Java. It seems fair to assume that 1432 was the year in which the author first learned of this event from native traditions or written records which were communicated to him during his sojourn in the island, and that by an oversight he did not change this date when he wrote his book in 1436. In the same year he records elsewhere that during the winter he was anchored off the Nicobar islands (Tsui lan shan) for three days.

Much of the information contained in this book is not original, and consequently may not be correct for the time at which Fei Hsin wrote. In some cases, which are duly noted in footnotes in the present work, the information of earlier writers, especially of Wang Ta-yüan, has been made to apply to countries or localities quite different from what it originally did.

This work is based on the first edition of Ma Huan's work, even the title is copied on that of the earlier book; it seems likely also that a considerable amount of information may have been derived from another work published two years before the appearance of his and entitled *Hsi yang fan kuo chih*, or "Description of Foreign Countries", which will be noticed later on. Nevertheless the book of Fei Hsin contains numerous interesting and apparently original notes on points not noted by earlier writers, or which elucidate and corroborate the earlier too brief and incomplete statements.

The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* was first published in a collection of miscellaneous works brought out in 1544 by Lu Chi-ssü (陸楫思) under the title of *Ku chin shuo hai* (古令說海) where it is found in the first section (部). It was afterwards reprinted in the

Chi lu hui pien (紀錄彙編) published in 1617. It is also found in other subsequent miscellaneous collections (*Ts'ung-shu*). The Catalogue of the Imperial Library contains no reference to this work.

The work is divided into four chapters in which forty countries or localities are described in separate sections. Portions of this work have been translated by Groeneveldt in his wellknown work, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago*.

The contents of this work are as follows:

Chapter I.

- 1 (3). 1. Chan-ch'eng (Annam).
- 2 (2). 2. Ling shan (Dawaish Head, Annam).
- 10 (2). 3. K'un-lun shan (Pulo Condor).
- 3 (2). 4. Pin-tung-lung (Panrang, Annam).
- 6 (2). 5. Chên-la (Kamboja).
- 5 (3). 6. Hsien-lo (Siam).
- 45 (2). 7. Chia-li-ma-ta (Karimata Island).
- 44 (2). 8. Chiao-lan shan (Géram Island).
- 34 (3). 9. Chao-wa (Java).
- 25 (3). 10. Ch'iu-chiang (Palembang, Sumatra).
- 37 (2). 11. Chung-kia-lo (Janggolo, Java).
- 42 (2). 12. Chi-li ti-mên (Island of Timor).

Chapter II.

- 11 (2). 13. Man-la-ka (Malacca).
- 46 (1). 14. Ma-i-tung (Billiton Island).
- 13 (2). 15. P'êng-k'êng (Pahang, Malay Peninsula).
- 17 (1). 16. Tung-hsi chu (Anamba Islands).
- 22 (2). 17. Lung-ya mên (Singapore Strait).
- 19 (2). 18. Lung-ya-ka-i (Lankawi Islands).
- 18 (1). 19. Chiu chou shan (Sembilang Islands).
- 26 (2). 20. A-lu (Aru, Sumatra).
- 27 (2). 21. Tan yang (Tamiang River, Sumatra).

Chapter III.

- 32 (3). 22. Su-men-ta-la (Acheh, Sumatra).
 30 (2). 23. Hua-mien (Battaks, Sumatra).
 33 (2). 24. Lung-yen hsü (Pulo Rondo, Sumatra).
 53 (1). 25. Tsin-lan hsü (Nicobar Islands).
 55 (2). 26. Hsi-lan shan (Ceylon).
 59 (3). 27. Liu shan yang (Maldiv Islands).
 63 (1). 28. Ta Ko-lan (Quilon, Kulam).
 62 (3). 29. Hsiao Ko-lan (Kain, Kulam).
 64 (2). 30. Ko-chih (Cochin).
 66 (3). 31. Ku-li (Calicut).

Chapter IV.

- 60 (3). 32. P'ang-ko-la (Bengal).
 76 (1). 33. Pu-la-wa (Brava, Somaliland).
 77 (1). 34. Chu-pu (Juba, Somaliland).
 79 (1). 35. Mu-ku-tu-shu (Mogadisho, Somaliland).
 74 (2). 36. A-tan (Aden, Arabia).
 78 (1). 37. La-sa (Zeila? Somaliland).
 75 (2). 38. Tso-fa-erh (Djofar, Arabia).
 73 (2). 39. Hu-lu-mo-ssü (Ormuz).
 80 (2). 40. T'ien-fang (Mecca, Arabia).

(4) The *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu* (西洋朝貢典錄), or "Record of the Tributary Nations of the West", was written in 1520 by Huang Shêng ts'êng (黃省曾) of Wu-chun (吳郡). In his preface the author states that his work is derived from the *Hsing ch'a*, the *Ying yai*, and from sailing directions, and in fact it is but a compilation of these two works, and such data as is not derived from them may have been borrowed from the still unknown to me *Hsi yang fan kuo chih* of 1434, although it is not mentioned in his list of authorities. The footnotes contain valuable

historical details which, considering the date at which they were taken down, add very materially to the value of this book. The sailing directions, or "lists of compass bearings", are among the most important features of Huang's work, for they enable us to locate with a pretty close approximation a number of localities which would otherwise remain vague. The source of these directions to mariners is unknown to us; they may have been the work of Fei Hsin, or they may have been taken from contemporary charts. This last supposition appears the more likely, for Huang's sailing notes agree very closely, even in their phraseology (with important material differences here and there) with those we find written on the fifteenth century map of George Phillips.¹⁾

The *Ssŭ k'ü ch'üan shu tsung mu* (78, 18) says of this work:

"This book was written by Huang Shêng-ts'eng of the Ming whose literary name was Mien-tzŭ (勉子), a native of Wu hsien (吳縣) and a *chü-jên* of the year *hsin-mao* of the Emperor Chia-ching (A.D. 1531).

"In the section *Wên Chêng ming* (文徵明) of the *Ming shih* there are notices on the various tributary nations of the Western Seas. There were twenty-three of them from Chan-ch'êng (Annam) to T'ien-faug (Mecca), a separate notice for each one, in which is given the distance thither, and a description of the customs, whether good or bad, the products, the implements in use, the peculiarities of language and dress.

1) The text reads: "I collated the statements of interpreters from such works as the *Hsiang ch'a*, the *Ying yai*, and the *Chên wei* (or sailing directions) and condensed them. (余乃摭拾譯人之言若星槎瀛涯鍼位編約之). It has been thought that *Chên wei pien* was the title of a book, a "Sailing Directory"; this may be the case, but I think that the text admits of the interpretation I have given. I have never heard of any Chinese work exclusively devoted to sailing directions, but such directions are frequently met with both in the body of other works as, for example, in the *Chu-fan chih*, the present work, and the *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, and on charts, as on the fifteenth century one already referred to. From such sources it seems probable that Huang took his "*chên wei pien*".

"On examining the section on foreign lands in the *Ming shih* it is perceived that the list of the tributary peoples as there given is not in agreement with the present book; this is because (Huang) Shêng-ts'êng confined himself to describing only the countries visited by the eunuch Chéng Ho.

"At the end of the book there are two supplementary notices (跋) by Sun Yün-chia (孫允伽), a retired scholar of Tung-chou (東州), and one by a taoist priest, Chao K'ai-mei of Ch'ing-chang (清常趙開美). Yün-chia says that this work has never been printed before and that he had copied it from the original manuscript. K'ai-mei says that the style of writing in this book is very like that of the *Shan hai ching* ("Mountains and Seas Classic"), and he considered it a very remarkable work.

"Ch'ien Ts'êng (錢曾) in his Notes and Comments (讀書敏求記) was of the same opinion, but notwithstanding this only the most important passages of it have been incorporated in the official history (of the Ming dynasty), the rest was omitted as of little importance".

The only edition I know of this book is that contained in the *Yüeh-ya-t'ang ts'ung-shu* (粵雅堂叢書) published in 1853 by Wu Ch'ung-yao (伍崇曜) of Nan-hai (南海) where it is found in the third section with a Postface by the editor dated 1850. It only refers briefly to the supplementary notices of Sun Yün-chia and Chao K'ai-mei, and in that, and that only probably, differs from the edition of the Imperial Library.

This work is divided into three chapters in which twenty-three countries or localities are described as follows:

Chapter I.

12. Su-mên-ta-la (Acheh, Sumatra).

1. Chan-ch'êng (Annam) ¹).

13. Nan-po-li (Lambri, Sumatra).

2. Chên-la (Kamboja).

14. Liu shan (Maldivé Islands).

3. Chao-wa (Java) ²).

15. Hsi-lan shan (Ceylon).

4. San-fo-ch'i (Palembang).

16. Pang-ko-la (Bengal).

5. Man-la-ka (Malacca).

Chapter III.

6. P'o-ni (Borneo).

17. Hsiao Ko-lan (Quilon).

7. Su-lu (Sulu Islands).

18. Ko-chih (Cochin).

8. P'êng-hêng (Pahang).

19. Ku-li (Calicut).

9. Liu-k'iu (Lewchew Islands).

20. Tsu-fa-erh (Djofar, Arabia).

Chapter II.

21. Hu-lu-mo-ssü (Ormuz).

10. Hsien-lo (Siam).

22. A-tan (Aden, Arabia).

11. A-lu (Aru, Sumatra).

23. T'ien-fang (Mecca) ³).

W. F. Mayers began the translation of this work, but unfortunately he never finished it, a translation of the first chapter (Chan-ch'êng) with valuable elucidations and notes being, I believe, all that appeared. See *China Review*, III (1874, '75), pp. 219—225, 321—331. "Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean during the fifteenth century". I am not aware that any other scholar has since then made use of Huang's valuable compilation.

I referred previously to another contemporaneous account of the countries visited by the Chên Ho mission, but which I have been unable to procure; it is the *Hsi yang fan kuo chih* (西洋番國志) or "Description of foreign countries of the West". It bears date 1432, which is very nearly the date we must assign to the appearance of the work of Ma Huan. It antedates by four years Fei

1) This chapter has also short notices on Ling shan (Cape Sanho), K'un-lun (Pulo Condor), Tung-hsi chu (Anamba Islands) and Tan-yang (Damian River, Sumatra).

2) This chapter has also brief references to Chiao-lan shan (Géram Island, Borneo) and to Chung-ka-lo (Janggolo, Java).

3) There is an interesting notice on Medina in this chapter.

Hsin's book, and by probably about the same number Chang Shêng's amplified edition of the *Ying yai shêng lan*.

The "Notices on books in the Imperial Library", (78, 14—15) says of this book that it is in one chapter and that it was written by Kung Chên (鞏珍) of Ying-tien (應天) during the Ming period, of whose official career nothing is known. It then goes on to say:

"During the reign of Yung-lo (1403—1423) the eunuch Chêng Ho and others were sent by Imperial orders on missions to the Western Seas, and when Hsüan-tê succeeded to the throne (Chêng) Ho, Wang Ching-hung and others, were again sent beyond the Sea to make known to foreign nations the Imperial commands. At this time the writer of this book, Kung Chên, was a secretary on the staff of the mission, and for three years on his journeys.

"He has described the following countries, Chan-chêng (Annam), Chao-wa (Java), Hsien-lo (Siam), Ch'iu-chiang (Palembang), A-lu (Aru), Man-la-ka (Malacca), Su-mên-ta-la (Sumatra) Na-ku-erh (the Battaks), Li-tai (Lidé), Nan-po-li (Lambri), Liu-shan (the Maldive islands), Pang-ko-la (Bengal), Hsi-lan (Ceylon), Hsiao Ko-lan (Quilon), Ko-chih (Cochin), Ku-li (Calicut), Tso-fa-erh (Djofar), Hu-lu-mo-ssü (Ormuz), A-tan (Aden), and T'ien-fang (Mecca); in all twenty countries.

"For all that concerned the local customs and products he consulted the interpreters and put down in full and clear Chinese all that was out of the way.

"In the 9th year of *hsüan-tê* (1434) he prepared his notes for publication. They resemble closely the section on foreign countries of the *Ming shih*. It may be that the (*Ming*) *shih* took from this book".

The only other work which I have been able to find which contains anything of importance concerning the subject of this study is the *Yü ti tsung t'u* (輿地總圖) by Shih Ho-chi

(史霍冀), the preface of which bears date 1564. In the second volume of this work (pp. 85–86) are found two large maps with the title of “General map of the countries of the Barbarians of the eastern and southern seas”, and “General Map of the countries of the Barbarians of the southern and western seas”. They contain a vast number of names of places which I have never met with before, and dispose them in a nearly purely arbitrary way over the surface of the sea. It would be interesting to determine the sources of information drawn from by the compiler of these maps, but I know of no way of doing so. They mark considerable progress over the fifteenth century map made known to us by George Phillips, and, as specimens of early Chinese cartography are very rare, these may prove of some value, or at least interest, to students. The text of this Geography contains nothing of interest to the purpose of these researches.

The biography of the eunuch Chêng Ho, or San Pao T'ai-chien (三保太監) as he is also called, the leader of the expeditions in which Ma Huan, Fei Hsin, and Kung Chên took part, is contained in the History of the Ming Dynasty (*Ming shih*, 304, 2–3). It has been translated by Groeneveldt in his *Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, 41–45, so I shall only refer to it briefly here.

It appears that Chêng Ho was sent on the following seven missions to Indo-China and beyond:

1. In 1405, returning to China in 1407.
2. In 1408, “ “ “ 1411.
3. In 1412, “ “ “ 1415.
4. In 1417, “ “ “ 1419.
5. In 1421, “ “ “ 1421.
6. In 1424, “ “ “ 1425,
7. In 1430, date of return not stated.

He is said to have visited officially thirty-seven (six) countries or localities. Their names are given in the following order, or rather disorder:

*Chan-ch'êng (Annam).

*Chao-wa (Java).

*Chên-la (Kamboja).

*Chiu-chiang (Palembang).

*Hsien-lo (Siam).

*Ku-li (Calicut).

*Man-la-kia (Malacca).

P'o-ni ¹) (Brunei, Borneo).

*Su-mên-ta-la (Acheh, Sumatra).

*A-lu (Aru, Sumatra).

*Ko-chih (Cochin).

*Ta Ko-lan (Kain Kulam).

*Hsiao Ko-lan (Kulam, Quilon).

Hsi-yang So-li (Southern Coromandel coast?).

So-li (Coromandel).

Kia-i-lê (Cail).

A-po-pa-tan (Jurfattan?).

*Nan-wu-li (Lambri, Sumatra).

Kan-pa-li (Cambay).

*Hsi-lan-shan (Ceylon).

*Pêng-h'êng (Pahang).

Chi-lan-tan (Kelantan).

*Hu-lu-mo-ssü (Ormuz).

Pi-la (error for Pu-la-wa (?), Brawa).

*Liu shau (Northern Maldives).

Sun-la (error for Sun-ta, Sunda).

1) The inclusion of P'o-ni in the list of countries visited by Chêng Ho appears to be an error, see *infra* 47 (1), Note.

*Mu-ku-tu shu (Mogadosho).

Ma-lin (Melinde).

*La-sa, some port near Ma-lin.

*Tsu-fa-erh (Djofar, Arabia).

Sha-li-wan-ni (in Northern India).

*Chu pu (Jubo).

*Pang-ko-la (Bengal).

*T'ien-fang (Mecca).

*Li-fa (Lidé, Sumatra).

*Na-ku-erh (Nagur, Sumatra).

Of these thirty-six places (for Lambri is mentioned twice in the list, once as Nan-wu-li, once as Nan-po-li), twenty-five are referred to by Ma Huan or Fei Hsin. These I have marked with an asterisk.

Concerning the eleven others we learn from the *Ming shih* (325, 10) that Hsi-yang So-li, and Soli were contiguous countries, and of similar customs. Kia-i-lê (Cail) which the same work (326, 10) says was visited by Chêng Ho in 1408 and again in 1412, and which was a small country of the Western Ocean, was, it seems likely, in Hsi-yang So-li, or Southern Coromandel.

As to Kan-pa-li, the *Ming shih* says (*loc. sup. cit.*), that it was a small state of the Western Ocean near A-po-pa-tan and Hsiao Ko-lan (Quilon); I venture to think the former was Cambay and the latter Jurfattan of the Arabs, the Sha-li-pa-tan of the *Tao i chih lio*.

There seems little room for doubt that the Ma-lin visited by Chêng Ho was Melinde north of Mombasa. The *Ming shih* (326, 9) does not say that Chêng Ho visited it, but it records the coming of a mission from that country in 1405 which brought a giraffe as a gift to the Emperor.

Sha-li-wan-ni was in Northern India but I cannot identify it.

It sent a mission to China in 1416 and Chêng Ho accompanied the mission back the next year.

Although Chêng Ho is the most famous of the eunuch envoys abroad in the beginning of the fifteenth century, he was not the first. In 1403 Ma Pin (馬彬) was sent on a mission to Java, Acheh, Calicut, Quilon, and other place. Wu Pin (吳賓) and Ch'ang K'o-ching (常克敬) were also sent on official missions by sea at about the same time.

The famous eunuch traveller Hou Hsien (侯顯), whose biography occurs in the *Ming shih* immediately after that of Chêng Ho and who had several times between 1403 and 1413 been on missions to Tibet and Nepal, went in 1415 by ship on a mission to Eastern India. The *Ming shih* ranks him next to Chêng Ho among the famous Chinese envoys of this period.

As the Records of the Western world (西域記) of the famous buddhist pilgrim Yüan Chuang in the VIIIth century were used at a later date as the basis for a romance of adventure entitled *Hsi yu chi* (西遊記) which is still very popular in China, so the voyage of Chêng Ho, or rather the narratives of Ma Huan, Fei Hsin, and Kung Chên, were used in the latter part of the XVIth century by Lo Mou-têng (羅懋登) in writing a fantastic narrative of these voyages, to which he gave the title of *Hsi yang chi* (西洋記).¹⁾

1) See Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 163. He says this book is in 100 chapters (later the *Hsi yu chi*) and that it was finished in 1597.

I.

Indo-China. Malay Peninsula. Sumatra.

Annam and adjacent localities.

1 (1). *Tuo i chih lio*. 8. CHAN-CH'ENG (占城) Annam.

It is an important sea-port near Hsin (and) Chiu-chou (新舊州).¹⁾

The climate is not with sudden alternations. The soil is middling to inferior, suitable for raising cereals.

The people are given to piracy. Every year about New Year the people are allowed to take the gall of living beings to sell to the officials who buy it with money, mix it with spirits, and drink it with the members of their families, for they say that by this means the whole body becomes steeped with gall (*i. e.*, with courage), that people fear them and also that they will not have the plague (疵癘).²⁾

Below the city (of Ayuthya?) there are many eddies in the water and junks going up or down are detained for days. Women come on board (incoming) junks and keep company with the sailors, and when they sail again they shed tears on leaving them. The following year when the sailors come back they keep them company as before. If it happens that one (of them) gets to this country when his luck is bad, then the women, for the sake of her old affection for him, will give him food and clothing, and

1) Conf. the account of the *Ying yai shêng lan*, *infra*. According to G. Maspero, *T'oung Pao*, XII, 469. Hsin-chou is the present Gri Banŏy. See also Pelliot, *BEFEO*, IV, 202—208.

2) I have translated *ts'ü-ti* by plague, without any authority, however, for so doing. It may be any disease accompanied by ulcers and swollen glands, so far as I can gather.

when he leaves she will speed his parting with many presents, for nothing can shake their faithfulness.

They (the women) wear a semi-Chinese dress, and anoint their bodies three or four times a day with an oil of camphor and musk.

They write their official documents in white characters on black leather.

They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment millet (小米) to make spirits.

The native products are dark red *K'ieh-lan hsiang* (茄藍香, calambac wood), and *ta pu* cloth (打布).¹⁾

The goods used in trading (here) are blue porcelain, decorated cups, gold and silver head ornaments, wine cups, beads, and the like.

1 (2). *Ying yai shêng lan*. 1. CHAN-CH'ENG 占城).

This country is south of the Sea of China (大海). To the south it confines on Chên-la (Kamboja) to the west it confines on Kiao-chih, and to the north-east it borders on the sea.

Travelling by ship in a south-westerly direction from Wu hu-mên (五虎門) of Ch'ang-lo hsien (長樂縣) in Min (*i. e.*, Fu-kien)²⁾, with a favourable wind one can reach this country in ten days.

1) *K'ieh-lan hsiang*, calambac wood. This term for eagle-wood was not apparently used by the Chinese before the Yüan period. In the *Ying yai shêng lan*, *infra*, it is written 伽南 *k'ieh-nan*, and in the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, *infra* 棋楠 *k'i-nan*. In the 16th century *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, 2, 6^a it is also *k'i-nan* (奇楠). On calambac, see Yule and Burnell, *Glossary of reference*, 110.

As to the product of Chan-ch'eng called *ta-pu* I have been unable to find any explanation as to its character. It must have been a cotton fabric. It occurs in a number of passages of the *Tao i chih lio* but always without explanation. Cf. *infra*, 34 (1), n. 3.

On Chan-ch'eng in the Yüan period, see *Yüan shih*, 210, 6^b—10^b, and G. Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa* (*T'oung Pao*, XII, 455—482, 589—626, and XIV, 153—206).

2) Ch'ang-lo Hsien in Fu-chou Fu in Fu-kien province. Ma Huan uses throughout his

North-east of the capital over an hundred *li* there is a harbour called Hsin-chou Chiang (新洲港, Quinhon). On the shore of the harbour has been built a stone pagoda to mark out arriving junks where to moor. There is a military post called Mo-pi-nai (沒比奈) where there are two officers and fifty to sixty soldiers as a special guard.

An hundred *li* to the south-west is the capital, which is called Chan-ch'êng. There are four gates in the city-wall and the gates are defensible. The king is a So-li man (鎖里人).¹⁾ He follows the doctrine of Shih (*i. e.*, Çakyamuni). On his head he wears a cap with three gilt peaks with pendant jewels. His upper garment is of foreign flowered cotton stuff like light brocaded silk in texture. He wraps a number of times around his lower parts an embroidered silk scarf. He goes bare-footed. He rides on an elephant or in a small cart with two yellow calves (以二黃犢).²⁾

His ministers wear hats of kajang leaves³⁾, like the king's in shape, but with gold embroidery. Their hats vary with their official rank. Their upper garment does not reach below the knee, the lower one is an embroidered scarf tied around the waist.

The king's palace is spacious, the walls plastered and in good

work the terms 舟 or 船, which I have translated "ship" or "junk". In the metrical preface to his work in Chang Shêng's edition, Ma Huan in one passage makes use of the term *tsung* (鯨) instead of *po* (舶). The word *tsung* is apparently derived from the Malay *djung* our "junk", and is an unauthorized character; I have not met with it in any work earlier than that of Ma Huan. Cf. W. F. Meyers, *China Review*, III, 329, where he has an interesting note on the junks in the time of the early Ming, based on the work of Chu Yün-ming (祝允明, 1460—1526), entitled Chien-wên chi (前聞紀).

1) Literally a Chola from the Coromandel coast, but here meaning, probably, that the king was of Indian descent. See *infra*, 5 (2), 25 (2), 55 (1); cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chu fan chih of Chau Ju-kua*, 98, n. 1.

2) Cf. *Sung shih*, 489, 2* (Chan-ch'êng), also *Chên-la fêng t'u chi* of Chou Ta-kuan, Pelliot, *BEFEO*, II, 145—146. *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, I, 1^b (Chan-ch'êng) has "he rides on an elephant or in a small cart with two bullocks".

3) See *Ying yai shêng lan*, 5 (Man-la-kia), *infra*, 11 (1).

cendition. At the gates are upright carved wooden animals to give an appearance of dignity.

The people live in thatched huts which may not exceed three feet in height which they must go in and out of with bended body. Those who disobey this are subject to punishment. Their clothing is dark brown (or violet 紫), but the king's is white. It is forbidden to wear clothes of black or yellow; those who disobey are put to death. The men cover their heads, the women do up their hair in a knot behind; they are quite black in colour. Their upper garment is a short shirt with tight sleeves, the lower is a piece of embroidered cotton stuff wrapped around them.* All the women wear this dress. Men and women go bare footed.

The four seasons of the year are all hot, and there is neither frost nor snow. Vegetation is constantly green. Like the people of Min and Yüeh (*i. e.*, of Fu-kien and Kuang-tung) they never stop chewing betel-nut.

In settling a marriage the man in the first place goes to the woman and consummates the union (成偶). After ten or fifteen days on a sudden the parents and relations come preceded by players of drums to welcome and escort back (the bride to her new home), where they get ready liquor and the mats (*i. e.*, a feast). As to the liquor they wait till the rice in the fermenting jar has matured when they use tubes to suck it up; host and guests all gather around the jar at one and the same time and suck away in a steady stream. The flavour (of this liquor) is excellent.¹⁾

In writing they do not use paper but write only on sheep skin or on black bark.²⁾

1) Cf. *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, *infra* 1 (3), and *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, as translated by W. F. Meyers, *China Review*, III, 323. It says this liquor was called (by the Chinese) *wéng chiu* (甕酒).

2) My text reads 以椎羊皮及黑木皮書之. I have assumed that the second character should be 惟.

Their light form of punishment is to bind with rattans, their severer one to cut off the nose. Robbers have their arms cut off. As to adultery both the man and the woman are burnt on the cheeks. The extreme form of punishment is to place the criminal on a seat with a sharp pointed piece of wood which enters gradually into him and finally comes out of his mouth so that he dies.¹⁾

They have no intercalary month. A day and night are divided into fifty divisions which are marked by the drum.

A king on the days when he receives congratulations (*i. e.*, on the New Year) washes with human gall; the principal chiefs (將領) presenting him with men's galls to perform the ceremony.²⁾

When the king has reigned thirty years he becomes a hermit for the purpose of fasting and penance, and he commands his son or his nephew (子姪) to be regent of the kingdom. When a year has passed then he invokes Heaven with an oath, saying; "If I had heretofore done wrong (我不道) the tigers and wolves would have been able to devour me or I would have died of illness, but for the space of a year no ill has befallen me", and with that he resumes his sovereignty. Thereupon the people of the kingdom shout out: "*Fang-li ma-ha la-cha*" (芳嚟馬哈喇札), which is giving him the highest title.³⁾

They have (in this country) things called *shih-chih-yü* (屍致魚). They are women but their eyes are without pupils. In the depth of night their heads fly off and enter people's dwellings and eat the

1) Cf. *Sung shih*, 489, 3 (Chan-ch'êng).

2) Cf. *supra* I (1), and *infra* I (3). See also W. F. Mayers, *op. sup. cit.*, 324.

3) Mr. Otto Blagden writes me that Professor Antoine Cabaton of the Ecole des Langues Orientales suggests — but with great diffidence — that *fang-li* is the Cham word *pandik*, *panrik*, "to exalt", and that the phrase would be *panrik mahūrāja*, a sort of "long live the king!". Mr. Blagden says that in Aymonier's and Cabaton's Dictionary occurs the word *pairak*, "seigneur, monsieur". *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 1, 3* (Chan-ch'êng) reads *hsi-li ma-ha la-ja* (昔嚟馬哈刺扎) which is *gri-mahū rāja* "Most high Prince". — This is, I fancy, the correct reading.

little children's excrement, when their breath affects the children's bellies so that they die. (Then) the heads go back and are reunited with the bodies as before, but if the bodies have been moved then they cannot unite again and they die. If their husbands do not give information concerning them, they are criminal, they and their families.¹⁾

In this country there is a crocodile-pool. Persons who wish to clear up some litigation difficult to solve go to this pool, and those who are in the right way may cross it many times without meeting with any danger (from the crocodiles).²⁾

On the hills along the coast there are very vicious wild cattle. If one of them meets a person dressed in blue (or black) clothing, he gores him nearly to death. Should a domestic ox escape to the hills for a long time afterward he retains the savageness (which he has there acquired), so the people weigh down his head (重其首), so that if he attacks anyone he will not kill him.

1) *Shih-chih yü*, literally "corpse-making-fish" represents probably some local form of the Sanskrit word *pisatcha*, "vampire". In the *Tao i chih lio*, 10, *infra*, 10, these vampires are called *Shih t'ou Man nü* (尸頭蠻女 "Death-head Barbarian women"). *Ying yai shêng lan* (Man-la-kia) has also the form *Shih-t'ou Man* (屍頭蠻). The earliest reference I have found to these vampires in Annam and adjacent countries is in the *Yu yang tsa tsu* (IXth century) where we read (4, 6^a): "Among the K'i-tung (aborigines, 溪洞) of Ling-nan (Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi) there are often persons with flying heads. In olden times there was a man called Fei-t'ou lao-tzu ("the old fellow with the flying head"). Some editions of the *Yu yang tsa tsu* read Fei-t'ou Liao-tzu (獠子, "the Liao-tzu (aborigines) with the flying head"). When his head was about to fly off there would appear the day before a scar encircling his neck and looking like a red thread. When his wife and children would see it they would watch him. In the night the man would seem to be ill when suddenly wings would appear on his head, and it would separate from the body and go off to the mud flats along the shore and search for crabs and earthworms and such like things to eat. At dawn it would come back, and the man would awaken as if from a dream feeling all right in his stomach". *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 1, 2^b (Chan-ch'êng) says they ate babies.

Conf. also L. de Rosny, *Peuples orientaux connus des anciens Chinois*, 149—153, and W. F. Mayers, *China Review*, III, 323—325.

2) See Hirth and Rockhill, *op. sup. cit.*, 48.

They use gold and also silver in trading. They prize extremely Chinese blue porcelain, and likewise also satins and silks, which they buy with money whenever they see any.

The native products are calambac wood (伽南香), *kuan-yin* bamboos (觀音竹), laka-wood, and ebony (烏木) superior to that of other countries.

As to *k'ieh-nan hsiang* though found in this country its price is high. *Kuan-yin* bamboo is like a rattan (籐) over eighteen feet long, of an iron coloured blackness and in every inch there are two or three knots.

Rhinoceros 'horns and elephants' tusks are plentiful. The rhinoceros is like the water-buffalo, the large ones reach eight hundred catties (in weight). Their bodies are hairless and black, their scale-like skin is thick. Their hoofs are cloven. They have a single horn on their snouts about a foot and five inches long. They only eat the leaves pulled off trees and pieces of dry wood.

(They have also) horses the size of donkeys, water-buffalo, domestic cattle (*lit.*, yellow cattle), swine and sheep (or goats). They have likewise geese and ducks; the largest of their fowls does not weigh over three catties.

As to fruit they have plums, oranges, water-mellons, sugarcane, cocoa-nuts and bananas.

Their jack-fruit is like a gourd. The lichee is the size of a hen's egg, the skin is yellow, the taste very sweet; its seed can be roasted and eaten.

As to vegetables they have gourds, cucumbers, bottle-gourds,¹⁾ the mustard plant, onions, and ginger.

The people occupy themselves with fishing and not with agriculture. The grain of their rice is small, elongated and reddish.

1) *Hu-lu* (胡蘆), I presume is the same as 壺 (or 壺 or 瓠) 蘆. See Bretschneider, *Botan. Sinicum*, Pt. 2, 198, N° 384.

The tribute (brought to China from Chan-ch'êng) consists of rhinoceros' horns, elephants' tusks, calambac wood.

1 (3). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 1. CHAN-CH'ENG (占城).

In the 7th year of Yung-lo (A.D. 1409) the Emperor T'ai-tsung appointed as envoys the eunuchs Chêng Ho, Wang Ching-hung (王景宏) and others to take command of over 27,000 soldiers and 48 sea-going junks and to proceed abroad to explore and to bestow Imperial gifts.

In the autumn of that year in the 9th moon they set sail from Liu-chia bay (劉家港) of T'ai-tsang (太倉). In the 10th moon they arrived in T'ai-p'ing bay (太平港) in Ch'ang-lo hsien (長樂) in Fu-kien and anchored. In the 12th moon they put to sea from Wu-hu (-mên, 五虎門), and with all sails set and a favourable wind they came to the kingdom of Chan-ch'êng in twelve days.

This kingdom has a harbour called Hsin-chou (新州) near the sea. To the west (Annam) reaches to Kiao-chih (交趾, Tongking), to the north it adjoins China. Sea-going ships come here (to Hsin-chou).

The sovereign wears on his head a three-peaked, gold-ornamented cap (三山金花冠), over his body is thrown (披) a brocaded shawl (手巾), on his wrists and ankles are gold rings, on his feet he wears tortoise-shell sandals. Around his waist is bound a bejewelled girdle (八寶方帶); he looks like a doll covered with diamonds.¹⁾ He rides on an elephant, around him crowd over 500 soldiers, either holding spears, swords, or short

1) The text reads 如粧塑金剛狀, I do not feel sure that I have caught the sense of this. Conf. this passage with *supra* 1 (2).

guns, or dancing with tambourines, beating drums, or blowing on cocoa-nut shell pipes (筒). His chiefs all ride horses.

He came out of the city to receive the Imperial commands, got off his elephant, knelt, and crawled on his knees (行匍匐). Touched by the Imperial bounty he presented articles of tribute.

This country has great numbers of elephants and rhinoceros. Tusks of ivory and rhinoceros horns are more plentiful than in any other country. Calambac wood (棋楠香) grows on a certain mountain; the officers of the ruler forbid the gathering of it, and those who disobey have their hands cut off.¹⁾

There is ebony and also laka-wood which they burn as fuel.

There is neither frost nor snow; the climate is constantly as hot as in summer and vegetation is always green, now in flower, now in fruit. They boil sea-water to make salt. The rice is very poor. The natives eat betel-nut which they wrap in sirih leaves with lime of shell-fish; whether walking or sitting or lying down, they are never without it in their mouths.

The New Year begins when they see the new moon; and so it is with the ending of the (preceding) month. The (completion of) ten(?) waxings and wanings of the moon makes a year.

They are fond of beating the drum day and night. Their rule is that ten watches make a day. The sovereign and common people do not rise before noon and do not go to sleep before midnight. When they see the (new) moon they make merry, drinking, singing, and dancing. Where the sovereign resides rooms, doors, and walls are all made of bricks and mortar, and hard woods carved with designs of animals.²⁾ Around the outside are walls. There is also a city-wall and suburbs. The soldiers equipment comprises poisoned arrows, spears, etc.

1) Conf. Chao Ju-kua's statement, Hirth and Rockhill *op. sup. cit.*, 48.

2) Conf. *supra* 1 (2).

The houses of the chiefs are orderly arranged, the height of the doors is limited.¹⁾ The common people make their dwellings with coverings of plaited reeds.

They will not eat fish before it is rotten, nor do they consider liquor good before maggots have appeared in the ferment. They throw some pellets (of ferment) in the rice, mix them dry and put them in an earthenware jar, regularly seal it up and put it aside. After some days, maggots having appeared in the grain, the fermentation has been completed, so on a day they unseal it using a section of bamboo three or four feet long which they stick into the grain in the jar. Five men may sit around it, and they put more or less water according to the number of people. Each one in turn sucks up the liquor through the bamboo into his mouth. When it has all been sucked up they add water. If it has no longer any taste they stop, if it still retains any flavour they seal it up keep it for another time.

The ruler to lengthen the years of his life gets the gall of a living man and, having mixed it with liquor, drinks it, he, and the members of his family; It serves also to cleanse the body, for it is said that the whole body is (made) of gall.

There are the *Shih-tou Man* (尸頭蠻, "Corpse-headed Barbarians"). In the first place they are ordinary women, they only differ from other people in having no pupils to their eyes. When these women are asleep with their husbands their heads fly away in the dead of night and go and eat human excrement, after which they come back again and join on to their bodies which become just as alive as before. When people are ill and feel a desire to go to stool (if) the evil spirit (妖氣) enters their bodies they surely die.

Such women are rare among the people, but if anyone should

1) This is made clear by reference to the parallel passage in Ma Huan's work, *supra* I (2).

not inform the officials of the existence of one, it would be a criminal offence for him and his whole family. The natives play tricks on these heads.¹⁾ They are hated both alive and dead.

Both sexes do up their hair in a chignon behind the head, and wrap around it a chintze turban. They wear a short cotton shirt and around their waists a scarf of chintze (花布手巾).

They do not use writing brushes or paper, but they cover a thin piece of sheep-skin wit soot and sharpen a small piece of bamboo for a style which they dip in lime (-water) to write their characters with; these are like wriggling earth-worms. The language is like the chirping of birds,²⁾ interpreters have to translate it.

2 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 51. LING SHAN (靈山). Cape Sa-hoi.

The mountains (covering it) are lofty and square (而方).³⁾ Springs in the rocks flow babbling down. The people live scattered about like stars. They gain their livelihood by fishing with nets.

The soil is virgin (田野), when broken for tillage it gives two crops in the year.

When junks come here the sailors faste and bathe and for three days they worship the Buddha, read the scriptures, light lamps to put on the water, and let go paper junks, seeking to avert calamities from their ships before going any further.

The customs, the climate, the natives, are all as in Chan-ch'êng.

The native products include a kind of creeper the best variety

1) I suppose the trick played on the flying head was that mentioned in the parallel passage of the *Tao i chih lio*, 10 (Pin-t'ung-lung) of putting a piece of paper over its neck so that it could not join on to its body.

2) The text reads 言詔燕馱全憑 "Their language is nothing but swallows' and tailor-birds' (chirping)".

3) Geo. Phillips says Ling shan was Davaich Head, Pelliot says it is Cape Sahoi, N. of Quinhon. Others identify it with Cape Varela.

of which has fine black marking arranged symetrically upon it. Each piece is worth (a block) of tin.¹⁾ The larger kind which has marking more spaced is worth (a block) of tin for three pieces.

Passing junks stop a day or so here for getting a supply of water and gathering fuel, and also for procuring betel-nuts and sirih leaves. There are no other noteworthy objects.

The goods used in trading are coarse cups, beads, pieces of iron, and such like things.

2 (2). *Hsing-ch'a shêng-lan*. 2. LING SHAN (靈山).

This locality is near the country of Chan-ch'êng. This mountain (山 or island) rises in lofty summits and is square. There are streams which flow down and wind around it like a girdle. On the top of the mountain there is a rock like a Buddha's head, hence its name of Ling shan or "Divine Mountain". The people live scattered about like stars. They fish with nets for a living. The soil is rich and they have two crops a year. The climate is temperate. In appearance both sexes greatly resemble the people of Chan-ch'êng.

The native products include a kind of creeper (rattan) with black marks arranged symetrically in pairs. Each piece is bartered for a block of tin. If large sized with marking far apart it exchanges at a block of tin for three pieces.

There are also betel-nuts and sirih leaves, but no other noteworthy products.

Passing junks must get fuel and water here. The sailors, having fasted und bathed for three days, worship the Buddha and offer

1) According to the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, 13. (Man-la-kia, *infra*, 11 (2) a block of tin weighed one catty four ounces (*kuan-ping*).

prayers and set on the water lighted lamps and painted boats to avert calamities from men and junks.

3 (1). *Tao i chih li*. 10. PIN-T'UNG-LUNG (賓童龍). Panrang.

Pin-tung-lung is under the dominion of Chan-ch'êng. Its general natural conditions (土骨) are similar to those of Chan-ch'êng. There is a stream with two branches which flows through it.

This is the place called in Buddhist books Wang-shê ch'êng (王舍城). It is also said that the foundations of Mu-lien's cottage (目連屋基) are here.¹⁾

The soil, the people, their customs, and the climate are as in Chan-ch'êng.

When a person dies they put on mourning, have a religious ceremony and choose a secluded spot in which to bury him.

The sovereign of the country rides an elephant or a horse with a red umbrella borne over him. His escort of over an hundred men bear shields and shout *ya* (亞) or *p'u* (僕), which are native words.

The *Shih-t'ou Man* women (尸頭蠻女) are more dreaded here than in Chan-ch'êng; so the people have many temple ceremonies and make sacrifices (to keep them off). These Man are born like any other children except that they have no pupils in their eyes. In the dead of night their heads fly away and eat human excrements and then fly back again. If a person manages to put a piece of paper or of stuff over the neck the heads on getting back (to their bodies) cannot join unto them again and they die. All the people of this country are careful after having had a stool to

1) See on this inexplicable legend shifting the well-known Rājagriha (Wang-she ch'êng) and the hermitage of Maṇḍalyāyana (Mu-lien) to Panrang, Hirth and Rockhill, *op. sup. cit.*, 51, and the authorities there cited. The *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* has Shê-wei-k'i-shih (Cravasti?) instead of Wang-she-ch'êng.

wash themselves clean or the Man will come to eat their excrement and will get in bed with them. If they accomplish this the person's bowels will be eaten up and his vital spirits will be so exhausted that he will die.

The local products are calambac-wood and ivory. The goods used in trading are silver and chintzes.

Under it (次) are the tribes of Hu-ma-sha (胡麻沙), of Man-t'ou-lo-sha (曼頭羅沙), of Kieh-pao (犛寶), of P'i-ch'i (毗齊), of Hsin-ku (新故), and of Yüeh-chou (越州), but, as they have no native products, junks do not go there.¹⁾

3 (2). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 4. PIN-T'UNG-LUNG (賓童龍).

This country is adjacent to Chan-ch'êng. It has a double branched stream whose waters are clear.

Buddhist books say that this country is Shê-wei-k'i-shih (舍衛乞食, Çravasti); the ruins of Mu-lien's dwelling are (still) revered.

The people, products, customs, vegetation, and climate, are much as in Chan-ch'êng, only in their funeral ceremonies they put on a mourning garment, then consult the Buddhas (*i. e.*, the gods) as to a place in which to bury the dead person.

In their marriages they pair (? 偶合).

When their ruler goes out he either rides an elephant or a horse, and as in Chan-ch'êng over an hundred men accompany him bearing (shields) and shouting "ya", (亞) and "p'u" (僕).

The natural products are calambac-wood and elephants' tusks.

1) I am not aware that any of these dependencies of Panrang have been identified; in the *Chu-fan chih* (Chan-ch'êng), the names Liang-pao (亮寶), P'i-ch'i (毗齊) and Yüeh-li (越裏) appear among the dependencies of Chan-ch'êng; they are evidently the same as the Kieh-pao, Pi-ch'i and Yüeh-chan of the text.

The goods used (by the Chinese in trading here) are gold, silver, and chintzes.

The common people weave reeds to cover their dwellings.

4 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 13. JIH-LI (日麗). Jarai(?)

Between two hills a barrier and market have been established.¹⁾ The land, though level, lies waste. The spring is cold, the summer rainy, so cultivation is carried on contrary to the seasons, and as a consequence the harvests are small and they have to count on other countries for food. In winter the climate is hot.

The habits and customs are moral. Men and women do up their hair in a knot and have a white cotton sarong and turban; around them they wrap a small piece of yellow cotton.

When a woman loses her husband she does not marry again.

They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment treacle (漿) to make spirits. They have a ruler.

The native products include turtle-shells, cranes' crests, laka-wood and tin.

The goods used in trading are blue chinaware, chintzes, coarse cups, bits of iron, little prints, (*seven characters missing in the text*), and such like.

Siam and adjacent localities.

5 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 33. HSIEN (暹). Siam.

Leaving Hsin-mên-t'ai (新門台) the mouth of a river (港)

1) According to Chao Ju-kua, Jih-li was one of the dependencies of Annam (Chan-ch'êng).

Mr. Blagden writes to me: "I wonder whether Jih-li represents the Jarai, an inland, rather barbarous tribe not far removed from the Chams of the coast in point of distance and speaking a closely allied language. It seems possible if in the author's dialect the character for *li* can be read *lai*, *loi* or *le*".

is entered; the outside hills are rough and jagged, the inner range is far away. The soil is poor, unfit for the cultivation of rice (穀米), so they count yearly on Lo-hu (羅斛, Lopburi). The climate is irregular.

The people are much given to piracy; whenever there is an uprising in any other country, they at once embark in as many as an hundred junks with full cargoes of sago (as food) and start off and by the vigor of their attack they secure what they want. (Thus) in recent years they came with seventy odd junks and raided Tan-ma-hsi (單馬錫) and attacked the city moat. (The town) resisted for a month, the place having closed its gates and defending itself, and they not daring to assault it. It happened just then that an Imperial envoy was passing by (Tan-ma-hsi), so the men of Hsien drew off and hid, after plundering Hsi-li (昔里).

(Again) in the year *ki-ch'ou* (己丑) of the period *chih ch'êng* (A.D. 1349) in the 5th moon in summer they fell upon Lo-hu.¹⁾

When a person dies they pour quicksilver into the body to nourish it. The dress of the men and women is like that of Lo-hu. Furthermore, in their trading they make use of cowrie shells as money.

The natural products are sapan-wood, tin, lucrabau seeds, elephants' tusks, and kingfishers' feathers.

The goods used in trading (by the Chinese) are beads, quicksilver, blue cotton stuffs, copper, iron, and such like things.

1) This passage must have been inserted just as the *Tao i chih hio* was about to leave the author's hands. The first preface to this book, written by San shan Wu chien (三山吳鑒) bears the date "12th moon in winter of the year *ki-ch'ou* of the period *chih-ch'êng*" (i. e., January—February 1350). On Tan-ma-hsi, conf. *Tao i chih hio*, 49 (Lung-ya-men), *infra*, 22 (1).

5 (2). *Ying yai shêng lan*. 4. HSIEN-LO (暹羅).

The country is a thousand *li* square (*i. e.*, to the side), the mountains which surround it are all steep and rugged. The ground is damp, the soil is poor, barely fit for cultivation.¹⁾

The climate is not equable; it is either foggy or hot.

Sailing from Chan-ch'êng in a south-westerly direction for seven days and nights you arrive at the port of Hsin-mên-(tai, 新門 [臺]) where you enter the mouth of a river (港 the Menam) which leads up to the capital (Ayuthyea).

The king's palace is handsome. The people live in raised buildings which are made of areca palm wood planks placed close together and tied with rattan, so that they are very strong. On this they place rattan and bamboo mats, and here they dwell.

The king is a So-li man;²⁾ he wears a white cotton turban on his head and no (upper) garment; around his loins he wraps an embroidered silk scarf held in place by a waistband of brocaded silk.

He goes out riding an elephant or in a sedan chair and a golden handled umbrella of kajang leaves is (borne over him). He is a believer in the doctrine of Çakya-(muni).

The people of the country who become bonzes and nuns are very numerous; their dress is of the style worn in China. They have nunneries and monasteries and observe fasts and penances.

It is the custom of the people to leave the married women much discretion; the husbands follow the advice of their wives. Should a married woman have a liaison with a Chinaman (the husband) remains calm and does not take exception to it.³⁾

1) This chapter has been translated by Geo. Phillips from the revised edition of the *Ying yai shêng lan* by Chang Shêng. *JCBRAS*, XXI, 34—38.

2) *Supra*, I (2). Ma Huan says that the king of Chan-ch'êng was a Chola.

3) Conf. *Tao i chih lio*, 21 (Lo-hu), *infra*, 8 (1), and 11 (Chên-la), *infra*, 6 (1); also *Chên-la têng t'u chi*, 25^b.

The men wear on their heads a white cotton turban, and they have a long garment similar to the women's; they do their hair in a knot. When the men have accomplished twenty years of age they must (wear an ornament on their heads?) inlaid with beads and precious stones (or jade). The pattern worn by the wealthy is of gold and ornamented with beads which have a tinkling sound which is much admired. If they do not then they are poor fellows.

As to their marriage ceremonies a bonze and a crowd of people escort the (future) son-in-law to the girl's house, then the bonze takes hold of the girl and makes a red mark on the man's forehead; this is called "li shih" (利市) (there are other details) so coarse that it is not proper to state them here. After three days the bonze and all the relatives and friends accompany them back (to the groom's house) bearing betel-nuts (and an) ornamented boat, when a feast is spread and they make merry.¹⁾

As to the funeral ceremonies, in the case of a rich person they pour quicksilver into him and bury him. In the case of a person of the common people they carry the corpse to an islet of the sea where numbers of golden coloured birds come down and eat it, then what is left is thrown into the sea: this is called bird-burial. They also have fasts of the buddhist religion and prayers as in Kuang-tung.

They are treacherous and are given to fighting on the water (*i. e.*, to piracy); they are constantly attacking neighboring countries.²⁾

In trading they use sea-shells (cowries) just (as we do) copper cash.

The native products comprise the red *ma-k'en-ti* stone which is

1) See Pelliot in *BEFEO*, II, 153—154, and confer *Liang shu*, 54, 4* (Lin-i), *Sui shu*, 82, 2* (Lin-i), also *Tao i chih lio*, 11 (Chên-la), *infra*, 6 (1).

2) See *Tao i chih lio*, 33 (Hsien), *supra*, 5 (1).

inferior only to red *ya-hu* (i. e., ruby) and is as bright and shining as a pomgranate seed.¹⁾

North-west of this kingdom two hundred and odd *li* there is a market town (市鎮) called Shang-shui (上水), which communicates with the south. The inhabitants number approximately six hundred families.²⁾

All kinds of foreign products are found (in Hsien-lo): *huang-lien hsiang* (黃連香, rhizomes of *Coptis teeta*), *lo-ho lien hsiang* (羅褐連香),³⁾ laka-wood, and gharu. There is also rose-wood cardamoms, lucrabau seeds, dragon's blood (? 血結), rattans, (藤結), sapan-wood, tin elephants' tusks, kingfishers' feathers. The sapan-wood is as cheap as fire-wood, its colour is unsurpassable.

Of animale they have (in Hsien-lo) the white elephant, lions, cats and white squirrels.

The vegetables and fruits are as in Chan-ch'êng.

They have rice-wine and cocoa-nut wine, both of which are distilled spirits.

Its tribute (to the Court of China) is sapan-wood and laka-wood.

1) This stone has not been identified, I believe; see Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, I, 174, where, quoting the *Cho kêng lu*, he says it is a variegated stone, without lustre and is dug from the same mines as the red *ya-hu*.

2) Geo. Phillips, *op. sup. cit.*, 37, has "A hundred *li* to the S.W. of this kingdom there is a trading place called *Shang shui* (上水), which is on the road to *Yün-hou mén* (雲後門)". It seems to me that the text translated by Phillips must have meant that Shang-shui, wherever it was, was a small trading place in indirect communication ("a back gate") with Yün(-nan). *Hsi yang chao kung Tien lu*, 2, 2^a (Hsien lo) understands it thus; it has "百貨咸集可通雲南之後".

3) Can it be that *lo-ho lien hsiang* is an error for *Lo-hu lien hsiang* (羅斛連香) "aromatic woods from Lo hu and adjacent countries"? The eagle-wood from Lo-hu was famous.

5 (3). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 6. HSIEN-LO (暹羅).

With a favourable wind this country can be reached from Chan-ch'êng in ten days. The hills (on the sea-coast) are high white rocky cliffs extending for a thousand *li*. The outer hills are rugged, the inner ranges are far remote. The land is level and fertile, the crops abundant. The climate is constantly hot.

In their ways they are domineering, and they esteem personal bravery. They make forays on neighboring countries. They make spears by sharpening areca-palm wood and have shields of water-buffalo hide, poisoned arrows, and other arms. The like particularly to fight on the water.

Both men and women do up their hair in knots and have white cotton turbans. They wear long shirts and wrap a coloured cloth around their loins.

High and low consult with their wives on all matters of business, after which the men reach an arrangement without any difficulty.¹⁾ The Chinese are very fond of (these Siamese women); when they have a jollification they will make merry with them, sing, and stay the night long.

Many of the women become Buddhist or Taoist nuns; they recite the prayers and observe the penances. The colour of their clothing is similar to that worn in China (by nuns). They erect various kinds of religious buildings.

They have a most strict mourning ceremonial. As soon as a person has drawn his last breath they pour quicksilver in the corpse to preserve it;²⁾ later on they choose a high mound of earth, where, after a religious ceremony, they bury it.

1) Conf. *Tao i chih lio*, 21 (Lo-hu), *infra*, 8 (1).

2) Conf. *Tao i chih lio*, 15 (Hsia-lai-wu), *infra*, 15 (1).

They ferment glutinous rice to make spirits, and boil sea-water to make salt.

The products are aromatic woods of Lo-hu (羅斛香), oil of lucrabau seed, sapan-wood, rhinoceros' horns, elephants' tusks, kingfishers' feathers, beeswax. They have a currency of cowrie shells, every ten thousand of which are equal to twenty (taels) in *chung-t'ung ch'ao* (paper money).¹⁾

The goods used (in trading here) are blue and white china-ware, chintzes, coloured light silks, coloured satins, gold, silver, copper, iron, quicksilver, beads and kittysols.

Its rulers, deeply moved by the far-reaching kindness of our glorious dynasty, constantly send missions to court with memorials written on leaves of gold and with tribute offerings.

Kamboja and adjacent localities.

6 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 11. CHÊN-LA (眞臘) Kamboja.

(The quarter around) the south gate of the city (of Chên-la, 州南之門) is the real trade centre. The wall of the city is over seventy *li* in circumference. A stone (banked?) river (石河) of over two hundred feet in width surrounds it.

They have over forty myriads of elephants for war, and some thirty temples which are wonderfully ornamented with gilded walls and sheets of silver for tiling (鋪銀爲磚). They have a chair

1) 中統鈔 or "paper money of the *chung-t'ung*" period of the Yüan. These notes were issued between 1260 and 1264 during the first years of Kublai's reign. Wang Ta-yüan says in speaking of Kiao-chih (Tongking) that among the people 67 copper cash of Kiao-chih were counted to one tael of *chung-t'ung* silver though the official equivalent was 70 cash. In Wu-tieh (Orissa) he says that the silver coin of the country, weighing two mace eight candareens was taken for 10 taels in *chung-t'ung ch'ao* (paper money). The whole paragraph is copied from *Tao i chih lio*, 21 (Lo-hu), *infra*, 8 (1). *Hsi yang chao kung T'ien lu*, 2, 3* (Hsien-lo) gives a long list of textile fabrics made in Siam.

made of seven precious substances for their sovereign, and the seats of his nobles and kinsmen are all golden stools.

Yearly there is a festival when they set out on exhibition apes of gold, peacocks of jade, six-trunked white elephants, three-horned silver-hoofed oxen, and in front of them are arranged ten lions of gold. On a stage of bronze they put twelve silver pagodas guarded (at the four corners?) by bronze elephants. All the people are fed on gold tea-trays and high dishes and out of cups of gold.

It is also called the "Land of the Hundred Pagodas" (百塔州), for they have built an hundred golden pagodas. One of them, a dog having damaged it (爲狗所觸), the tee of the pagoda has not been completed. Then there is a lake called Ma ssü lu ch'ih (馬司錄池) where they have also built five pagodas with spires of gold. Next there is the relic of Sang-hsiang Fo (桑香佛舍) for which they have made an envelope of gold, and a stone bridge of over four hundred feet (in length). This country is commonly called "Chên-la the rich" (富貴眞臘者).¹⁾

The climate is constantly hot. The soil is very fertile. The people boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment millet (小米) to make spirits.

Men and women do up their hair in a knot. When their girls have reached the age of nine they call in a Buddhist priest to perform the ceremony of pricking her with his finger and making a red mark on her forehead and on that of her mother. This cere-

1) Cf. this and the preceeding paragraph with the description of Chou Ta-kuan in the *Chên-la fêng t'u chi*, 2^b—5^b. Wang Ta-yüan must have had this work before him when he wrote about Kamboja, for much of the information he gives seems to be derived from or inspired by that work.

The capital of Kamboja in the time of Chou Ta-kuan and of Wang Ta-yüan was Eintapath (Angkor-thom), but in the beginning of the 15th century the capital was transferred to Shadomukh — the present Phnom-Penh. See A. Leclère, *Histoire du Cambodge*, 219—220. Fei Hsin confines himself to copying from Wang's book, consequently his notes have no value whatever at the time at which he wrote.

mony is called *li shih* (利市) for they say that by so doing when she comes to marry she will be a good housewife. When (the girls) have completed their tenth year they are married. If the wife has a liaison with a stranger the husband is much pleased thereat, and will brag to the other men, saying, "My wife is a clever woman, she can make men love her". (Such women?) wrap brocade around their bodies and on their foreheads they display pearls.

When the sovereign goes forth he uses a golden cart; he is most grand; over his body are spread (bejeweled?) fringes, in his right hand he holds a sword, in his left a deer's tail (鹿尾).

As to their laws, they have the punishments of cutting off the nose and of branding. Natives who commit theft or robbery have their hands and feet cut off, are branded on the breast and back, (or) tattooed on the forehead. Should a Chinese kill native he pays a sum of money to expiate it, and if he has no money they take him in person to atone for it.

The native products include beeswax, rhinoceros horns, peacocks, gharu-wood (沈速香), sapan-wood, lucrabau seeds and kingfishers' feathers superior to those of any other foreign parts.

The goods used in trading are silver, yellow and red beads, dragon pattern satins (龍緞), Kien-ning brocades (建寧綿), silks, cottons, and the like.

6 (2). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 5. CHÊN-LA (眞臘).¹⁾

From Chan-ch'êng with a favourable wind this country can be reached in three days. The commercial centre is to the south of

1) *Hsi yang chao kung Tien lu*, 1, 6 (Chên-la), says: "Chên-la had three qualities of gharu wood, the first was (from) Lū-yang (綠洋), the second from San-lo (三灤), the third from P'o-lo-ch'a (勃羅叉)"..... "There is a tree the flower of which are like those of the *lin-ch'iu* (林檎, a species of *Pyrus*), with elm leaves and plum(like)

the gate of the capital. It (the capital) has a moat around it over 70 *li* in length, a stone river (石河) over two hundred feet in length and over thirty temple buildings of various kinds. Every year there is a festival when they set out jade apes (玉猿), peacocks, white elephants, and rhinoceros before them. It is called the "Land of an Hundred Pagodas" (百塔洲).

They eat their fill on plates of gold and out of bowls of gold. It is the ordinary thing to call it "Chên-la the rich".

The climate is always hot, the fields give abundant crops. They boil sea-water to make salt. The habits are opulent.

Men and women do up their hair in a knot; they wear short shirts with a piece of cotton wrapped around them. Their laws punish criminals by cutting off the nose, the feet, branding, and by banishment. Robbers are punished by having their hands and feet cut off.

Should a native kill a Chinese he pays for it with his life. Should a Chinese kill a native he is fined a sum of gold; if he has no gold he sells himself in expiation of his crime.

The products are beeswax, rhinoceros, elephants, peacocks, gharu-wood, sapan-wood, oil of lucrabau seed, and kingfishers' feathers.

The goods used (in trading here) are gold, silver, beads, brocaded satins, light silks, and cotton stuffs.

fruit, it is called *ko-pi-t'o* (歌畢陀). (The tree which has) flowers like the quince's, with apricot leaves and mulberry(like) fruit, is called *p'i-yeh* (毗野). The tree which is like the *an-lo* (菴羅 *amra*, mango), with elm leaves, long branches, yellow flowers and black seed is called *su-fang* (蘇方, sapan); it can be used for dyeing. The fish with a snout like an elephant, which can suck up water and flow it out, which has four feet and no scales is called a *chien-tung* (建同), and the our which is like an eel with a mouth like a parrot's and eight legs is called *fou-hu* (浮胡)....."

(Note to text: In the 6th year of Hung-wu (1374) its king Hu-erh-na (忽兒那) sent his minister Nai-i-chi-lang (奈亦吉郎) and others with presents; after this they did not after bring tribute to Court).

7 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 20. LO-WEI (羅衛) Ligor(?).

It is south of Southern Chên-lo (眞駱) and was anciently called also Shih-kia-lo shan (實加羅山).¹⁾ The country (山) is poor, the best lands are not more than middling. The grain begins growing at the end of spring; the people raise more than they can use and export it to other countries.

The climate is not regular. The customs are frugal and dilligent. Men and women tattoo their bodies. They wear a dark red (or violet) turban, and put around their waists *Liu pu* (溜布)²⁾ held in place by bamboo rings. They use crude beeswax to make lights, and weave cotton for a living. They boil sea-water to make salt and steep the root of the *ko* (葛) and ferment the water to make spirits which has a delicious sweet flavour. They drink it after a few days and it is not intoxicating.³⁾

They have a ruler. The native products are coarse laka-wood, tortoise-shell, beeswax, and cotton. Though they have valuable timber they are unable to cut it.

The goods used in trading are chessmen, scarfs (手巾), *k'ou-chi* taffetas (狗跡絹, *lit.*, "dog-track taffetas"), coloured beads, trade silver, blue and white porcelain bowls, bits of iron, etc.

1) There can be no doubt that 眞駱 is a very unusual form for 眞臘, whether it is a copyist's error or intentional I cannot say, I have never met with this form elsewhere. Lo-wei may be the Lo-yüeh (羅越) of the T'ang period, and the Têng-liu-mei (登流眉) of Chao Ju-kua, which is generally supposed to have been Ligor in the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula. Shih-kia-lo, given as the old name of Lo-wei is unknown to me, it seems to correspond with some such form as Çakala or Çakara, unless it points to an original Singa or Singapura.

2) *Liu pu* is a cotton fabric made in the Liu (Maldivé) islands. In another chapter Wang Ta-yüan speaks of the large cotton sheets or handkerchiefs (大手巾布) made in the Maldives. *Tao i chih lio*, 63 (Pei Liu), *infra*, 59 (1), cf. *Ying yai sheng lan*, 14 (Liu shan, Tieh-kan), *infra*, 59 (2).

3) Conf. *Tao i chih lio*, 42 (Lung-ya-po-ti), *infra*, 20 (1).

8 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 21. Lo-hu (羅斛). Lopburi (Lower Menam).

Its steep cliffs of white rocks make it look like a walled town with suburbs (城郭). The land is level and extensive and produces abundant crops on which the people of Hsien (Siam) count. The climate is constantly as warm as in spring; in their habits they are violent.

Men and women do up their hair in a knot and wear a white cotton turban and a long cotton shirt. In determining any matter, whether it be the pattern of a thing, money, grain, or going in or out, they discuss it with their wives before deciding, and frequently it is arranged better than by the men.

They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment glutinous rice to make spirits. They have a ruler. It is the rule to conduct their trade with cowries instead of coins; ten thousand of them are equal in value to twenty-four taels in *chung-t'ung* paper money. It is extremely convenient for the people.

The country has as native products Lo-hu aromatic (woods) with a very pure and strong perfume like that of gharu-wood. Then there is sapan-wood, rhinoceros horns, elephants' tusks, kingfishers, feathers, and beeswax.

The goods used in trading are blue (china) ware, cotton prints, gold, tin, Hainan betel-nuts, and cowrie shells.

Next to it (or subordinate to it) are Mi-lê-fo (彌勒佛), Hu-nan-kuei (忽南圭), Shan-ssü-fan (善司坂), Su-la-ssü-p'ing (蘇刺司坪), and Chi-tun-li (吉頓力).¹⁾ As they have no useful products they are only mentioned in this note.

1) I am not aware that any of these localities have been identified. Conf. however, *Chu fan chih* (Chên-la), where, in the list of dependencies of Chên-la, we find Hsi-p'êng (西棚) and T'un-li-fu (吞里富), which have some resemblance to the Su-la-ssü-p'ing and the Chi-tun-li of the text.

9 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 14. MA-LI-LU (麻里嚕).?

A little far-off bay leads to this place. It is a high hill and the water has many *lū-ku* rocks (鹵股石) in it.¹⁾ Woods are few, the land is high and barren. The people raise principally yams (薯芋). The climate is hot. The customs correct.

If a native chief dies his widow does not marry again any common person. The sons or grandsons of native chiefs of other districts (國) according to rank and signority must agree among themselves who shall consent to marry her. If they do not, then she shaves off her hair and consults the holy books about putting an end to her life (看經以終其身).

Men and women do up their hair in a knot; they wear a short shirt of blue cotton and wrap around them a red cotton sarong.

The people boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment the juice of the sugar-cane to make spirits. They tress bamboo slips to make bedsteads, and burn wild wax (生蠟) as a lamp.

The native products comprise tortoise-shell, beeswax, laka-wood, *chu-pu* (竹布),²⁾ and cotton.

1) I have not met with the name Ma-li-lu in any other Chinese work of this time or of the Sung period. It may have been a dependency of Chan-ch'eng, though I am disposed to look for it in the Malay Peninsula. The *lū-ku* rocks seem to have been coral or madreporic rocks, though I have been unable to find this term or any explanation of it in any Chinese work at my disposal. The earliest use I know of it is in Chao Ju-kua's *Chu fau chih*, 1, 38^a (San hsü), when it is said of the sea along the east coast of Luzon 海多鹵股之石槎牙如枯木芒刃銛於劍戟舟過其側預曲折以避之. Wang Ta-yüan makes frequent use of the term, e. g., 65 (Kao-lang-pu), 82 (Hsiao Kū-nan), etc. In Fei Hsin's work (28, Ta Kolan, *infra*, 63 (1)), it is written *lo-ku* (羅股). *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 3, 12^b (A-tan) says "the houses of the people are made of a stone called *lo-ku* (羅股). It would seem that the author takes this for a foreign word. I have been assured by Chinese scholars that *lu-ku* stone is a wellknown Chinese term; but they cannot explain it.

2) *Chu pu*, if it is not a transcription of a native term, means "bamboo cloth". Wang Ta-yüan refers to it frequently as a product of localities far distant the one from the other. See *infra*, 38 (1). Note.

The goods used in trading are coarse silver ingots, blue cottons, porcelain-ware, Ch'u(-chou) porcelain, (處[州]磁), ¹⁾ earthenware pots, big jars, iron caldrons, etc.

10 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 50. K'UN-LUN (崑崙). Pulo Condor.

It is the ancient K'un-lun shan, also called Chün-t'un shan (軍屯山). The island is high and broad with a winding coast of over an hundred *li* in length; it rises up in the midst of the ocean opposite Chan-ch'êng, (Tung-)hsi-chu (Anamba Islands) and Ting-chih (鼎峙). At its base is the K'un-lun Sea, whence its name.

Junks trading in the Western Ocean must get by it rapidly (必掠之) a favourable wind it can be passed in seven days (from Chan-ch'êng). ²⁾ There is a saying that "above there are the Ch'i-chou (Paracels islands), below there is K'un-lun"; so they look to their steering or they will lose their ships.

The land produces no rare product; the inhabitants have no houses but live in the higher part of the hills. There are some tens of males of strange shape and outlandish appearance, who live in caves and wild places and who have no clothing; in the daytime they eat mountain fruits, fish, and prawns; at night they rest in the forks of trees like the Piao-ch'i (標枝) of the days of the wild deer (野鹿之世). ³⁾ How do we know this? Well, when

1) Shêng Ts'êng-chih in the *Tao i chih lio kuang chêng*, I, 1^o says that Chu-chou porcelain is Lung-ch'üan (龍泉) ware. Hirth, *Ancient Chinese Porcelain*, 36, says: "The Lung-ch'üan factories were moved to Ch'u-chou-fu at the beginning of the Ming dynasty [A.D. 1368]". It appears from our text that they were moved at an earlier date.

2) The text reads 舶販西洋者必掠之順風七晝夜可渡。I have ventured to correct it on the strength of the reading of Fei Hsin in the parallel passage in the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, which has 凡往西洋販舶必待順風。。。

3) I fail to catch the allusion, it is probably a classical one. The text reads 夜則

junks, forced by contrary winds, anchor at this island, a crowd of men and women congregate together and amuse themselves, clapping their hands and joking, and then make off. They follow purely natural instinct (自適天趣), so I say, are they people of the Ko-tien family? ¹⁾

10 (2). *Hsing ch'u shêng lan*. 3. K'UN-LUN SHAN (崑崙山).

This island rises in the middle of the boundless ocean facing Chau-ch'êng, Tung-hsi-chu, Anamba Islands, and Ting-chih (鼎峙). It is high and square; its area is extensive (山盤廣遠).

Sailors speak of the "Sea of K'un-lun". All junks going to the Western Ocean must wait for favourable wind when they will pass it in seven days. There is a common saying that "above one fears the Ch'i-chou (七洲, the Paracels), below one fears K'unlun." If the needle varies (or) the helm is set wrong, the ship and crew cannot get clear of the island.

There are no noteworthy products. The inhabitants have no dwellings or place where to cook their food; they eat fruits, fish, and shrimps, and dwell in caves or nest in the trees.

宿於樹巢仿標枝野鹿之世。It may be in part an allusion to the time when the Emperor Shun lived with the wild deer, so tells me a Chinese friend.

1) The text of this passage reads 吾故曰其無懷大庭氏之民歟其葛天氏之民歟。Wu-huai, Ko-t'ien and Ta-t'ing were, I am told by a Chinese scholar, types of simple, unsophisticated, guileless folk; he may be right, but this paragraph remains very obscure to me. The *T'ao i chih t'ao kuang chêng*, 2, 1^b offers no explanation on the latter part of this chapter of the text.

*Malay Peninsula and adjacent localities.*11 (1). *Ying yai shêng lan*. 5. MAN-LA-KIA (滿刺加). Malacca.

Its old name was Wu-hsü (五嶼, "Five Islets") on account of there being that number of islands in the sea thereabout. To the east and south it confines on the sea, to the west and north is the coast which adjoins the mountains (岸連山). The soil is barren and saline, the crops are very poor, so (agriculture) is not in favour.

The country was under the rule of Hsien-lo (Siam), yearly it paid five thousand (fifty?) ounces of gold, should it have failed to do so it would have suffered an attack.

In the seventh year *ssü-ch'ou* of Yung-lo (A.D. 1409) the eunuch Chêng-Ho notified the imperial command that Man-la-kia was raised to the rank of a (feudatory) kingdom and presented, in the name of the Emperor, to its head chief (將領) a silver seal, a cap, and official robes and declared him king; on this it ceased to be a dependency of Hsien-lo (Siam). The king, taking with him his wife and son, proceeded to the capital (of China) to express his thanks for being allowed to offer tribute. The Emperor granted him a ship to return to his country.¹⁾

1) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 123—125. Cf. *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, 13 (Man-la-kia), *infra*, 11 (2), which places the voyage to China of the king of Malacca in 1415. The *Huang Ming ta chêng chi* (皇明大政記), 9, 5^a, 6^a, says the king of Malacca with his wife and son (率妻子) arrived at court in the 7th moon of the 9th year of Yung-lo (1411) and left in the 9th moon. He was given an imperially ordered feast, but no mention is made of a junk having been furnished him for his return voyage. *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, 4, 1^a—3^b, says that in 1405 the ruler of Malacca, Si-li-pa-erh-su-la (西利八兒速刺) sent a petition to the Ming court asking to become a feudatory. It was in response to this request that Chêng Ho was sent in 1409. The king his successor, who went to China in 1411, was called, the same work says, Pai-li-tieh-su-la (拜里迭蘇刺), he took 540 persons in his suite. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay*

There is a large stream (溪) which passes by the king's palace and enters the sea. On the bridge which spans it is a row of sheds with over twenty columns (supporting them); here come those who have trading to do.

In their usages they revere the doctrine of the Moslims, observing its fasts and penances.

The king wears a white turban, a fine blue (or green, 青) flowered robe; he wears leather shoes and rides in a sedan chair.

Among the people the men have a kerchief around their heads, the women do their hair in a knot behind. Their bodies are rather dark, they wear a short shirt and wrap around the loins a piece of stuff.

Their customs and usages are pure and simple. The cottages of the people are like those of Hsien-lo; they live all huddled together. They make a living by fishing. The boats in which they go to sea and fish are dug out of logs of wood.

In their marriages and funerals they do as in Chao-wa (Java).

Along the sea-side there are dangerous "turtle-dragons" (龜龍, crocodiles). This dragon is four feet high and has four feet, its body is all covered with scales and it shows long teeth. If met with it crushes one with its teeth.

From out the mountains there comes a black tiger slightly smaller than the ordinary tiger; its fur has dark mottling. Some

Archipelago, 123—125, has translated this chapter from the revised edition of the *Ying yai shêng lan*. It differs considerably from the present version. In 1403 a Chinese envoy, the eunuch Yin Ching, visited Malacca. *Ming shih*, 326, 4^b.

Pai-li-tieh-su-la is the Parimipura of the Portuguese account. He was a Hindu and originally king of Palimbao (Palembang). He later became king of Singapore and having been driven out of it by the Lord of Patani, he fled and founded Malacca. His son Xaquendarxa (Iskandar Shah) it was who went to China and became a vassal of the Emperor. He was three years on the journey, and married the daughter of the Chinese official who was sent to accompany him back to Malacca. See *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*, III, 73—79 (Hakluyt Soc. edit.).

tigers are able to assume human shape and in broad day enter the market place. Those who detect one lay hold of it and kill it. Anciently the city (was infested by?) *shih-t'ou Man* (屍頭蠻, "corpse-headed Barbarians").¹⁾

(For the use of the) Chinese junks which come to the country there is a shed with wooden palings around it, gates in its four sides and a drum tower on which watch is kept at night with a handbell. Inside they have set up (smaller?) strong sheds (in which) are godowns for storing goods. In the fifth moon the junks are sent off.

The native products are *huang-lien hsiang* (*coptis teeta* rhizomes) ebony, and *tu-ma hsiang* (打魔香, damar) which is the sap of a tree which flows to the ground and solidifies; if lit it burns of itself. The people of the country use it as a lamp. It is also used to smear boats so that the water may not enter them. A bright and lustrous variety like gold-leaf and called *sun-tu-lu-ssü* (損都盧廝) can be made into balls, it is called *shui-p'o* (水珀 *lit.*, "water-amber").²⁾

There is a district in the mountains called Shu-sha (樹沙) where tin (花錫) is found. When first found this tin is like

1) Mr. Otto Blagden writes me: "The superstition that men are able to turn themselves by magic into tigers, if they know how it's done, is firmly held by Peninsular Malays. This is the earliest mention of it that I can remember to have seen. The tigers are not, however, necessarily black in such cases, but striped, I believe." *Ilsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 1, 16* (Man-la-kia) calls this small spotted black tiger *hsing hu* (星虎 "star tiger"). On the *Shih-t'ou Man*, see *supra*, 4. The *Ilsi yang chao kung tien lu*, *loc. sup. cit.*, 16^b refers to the *Shih-t'ou Man* goblins (妖) of Malacca as being like those of Chan-ch'êng.

2) Mr. Blagden has furnished me the following note. "*Sun-tu-lu-ssü* is unquestionably what the Malays call *damar mata kucing* (literally "cat's-eye resin"), a very superior, amber-like quality of resin, said in Wilkinson's Dictionary to come from the *Hopea globosa* and *Pachynocarpus Wallichii*". I have seen it myself. Groeneveldt does not explain the Chinese attempt at a name, no more can I, and George Maxwell in *JBRAS* (1905), N° 52, p. 109 was equally unsuccessful.

ko (beans, 始其皮如葛), but when pounded and passed through a sieve it forms a powder which can be made into cakes.¹⁾

On the banks (of streams) grows a water-grass called *Kiao-chang* (菱葦, Malay, *kajang*); the blades are like a sword and are strong and tough. From its seed, which are like lichees and of the size of a hen's egg, a spirit is made by fermentation, called *kajang wine* (nipa wine) which is intoxicating. Its leaves can be woven into mats.

Of fruits they have sugar-cane, bananas, jack-fruit, wild lichees, etc. Of vegetables onions, ginger, garlic, mustard, gourds, water-melons, etc.

There are cattle, sheep (goats?), fowls, and ducks, but neither donkeys nor horses.

11 (2). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 13. MAN-LA-KIA (滿刺加).

This locality was formerly not designated a kingdom. It can be reached from Ch'iu-chiang (Palembang) with a favourable wind in eight days. The sea-coast is nothing but rocks (山孤); the people are few and sickly. It paid yearly to Hsien-lo (Siam) 40 ounces of gold as a tax (稅).

The soil is poor, the crops small. There is a mountain in the interior from which flows a torrent in which they sift the sand and get tin (錫) which is melted into blocks, and this is *tou-hsi* (斗錫). Each block weighs one catty, four ounces, standard weight. They

1) This is probably Selangore. Duarte Barbosa (Hakluyt Soc. edit.), 189, speaks of Sara Langor "in which there is much tin, which they carry to the city of Malacca as merchandise, and hence they carry it to all parts". According to the *Tao i chih li*, tin was found in Ki-lan-tan (Kalantan), Lung-ya-mên (Linga) and P'eng-k'êng (Pahang). Three terms are used by our Chinese authors to designate tin, 錫, 斗錫 and 花錫, they seem to be interchangeable, though the second may have been reserved for tin in ingots, and the third may have meant tin in certain form used in trade; confer the term 花銀 "trade silver". *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 1, 5 (Man-la-kia), says "they cast *hua hsi* into shapes like a bushel measure (*tou*), each weighing one catty, eight ounces.

also weave banana-fibre into mats. Exclusive of tin they have no other product for trade.

The climate is hot during the day and cold at night. Men and women do up their hair in a knot. Their skin is like black lacquer, but there are white ones among them who are of Chinese descent.

They esteem sincerity and honesty. The people make their living by sifting tin and catching fish. Their houses are like elevated buildings; they do not spread out planks, but only make the story the length of a piece of wood. They spread their bedding side by side when they want to go to bed, and sit squatting on their haunches to take their meals. The kitchen and everything else is on top (of this platform).

The goods used (in trading with them) are blue and white porcelain, coloured beads, coloured taffetas, gold, and river.

In the 7th year of Yung-lo (1409) Chêng Ho and others conferred (on the ruler of Malacca) by Imperial order a silver seal and an official hat, belt, and gown. They also set up a tablet (stating that) Man-la-kia was raised to the rank of a kingdom. Hsien-lo (Siam) at first would not recognize it.

In the 13th year (1415)¹⁾ the ruler, to show his gratitude for the Imperial bounty, crossed the sea accompanied by his wife and son, and came to court with presents. The Emperor rewarded him and he returned to his country.

12 (1). *Tao i chih liu*. 18. TING-KIA-LU (丁家廬). Trengganu.

It is a triangular islet, a bay separates it from the adjacent district and forms an important water-way.²⁾

1) See *supra*, 11 (1), Note 1.

2) *Chu fan chih*, (San-fo-ch'i) writes the name Têng-ya-nung (登牙儂), and says that it was (in the 13th century) a dependency of San-fo-ch'i (Palembang). On Geo. Phillip's Chinese map the name is written Ting-kia-hsia-lu (丁加下路).

The island is high and desolate. The fields middling to poor, but the poorest people have a sufficiency of food.

In the spring there is much rain. The climate is rather hot. In their usages and customs they are believers in the supernatural. Men and women do up their hair in a knot and wear a short shirt of green *chieh-pu* cotton (綠頤[纈?]布) tied around with *ché-li* taffetas (遮里絹).¹⁾

They carve wood into (images of) gods, and sacrifice to them with the blood of men whom they put to death (or this purpose) mixed with wine. Whenever there is a drought or plague (疫癘) they pray to them when at once their prayers are answered. Furthermore, when either a man or his wife are very ill they have their fortunes told and they come true. The present ruler, (who is a real) manager of affairs, forbids greed and encourages diligence and frugality.

The native products are laka-wood, camphor, beeswax, and tortoise-shell. The goods used in trading are blue and white porcelain, Chan-ch'êng cottons, little red taffetas, tin, spirits, etc.

1) The term *chieh-pu* does not occur elsewhere in Wang's book; I have no explanation to offer of it. *Ché-li* taffetas or gauze is probably the same stuff which the *Ying yai shêng lan* 13 (Ku-li, *infra*, 66 (2) calls *ch'ê-li* (摺黎), also called *Hsi yang pu* (西洋布) and which came from K'an-pa-i (Cambay). On the other hand the *Tao i chih tso*, (San-fo-ch'i'), says that *Hsi-yang ssü pu* (西洋絲布) was also called *ssü-pu* (絲布) a term repeatedly met with in this work. Shên Ts'êng-chih in the *Tao i chih tso kuang chêng*, 6^a, says that *ssü pu* was made of ramie fiber mixed with silk (苧皮兼絲絹). The term *ch'ê-li* is Hindu *sūri*, *sūshi*, our "shawl". Conf. *Ying yai shêng-lan* 13, *infra*. The *Ko-ku yao lun*, 4, 23^a, says "*Hsi yang pu* was snow white and seven to eight feet broad".

13 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 16. P'ENG-K'ENG (彭坑).¹⁾ Pahang.

Rocky cliffs encircle it, rough and precipitous. From afar it looks like a level wall (平塞). The soil is fertile, rather good for cereals. The climate is half hot. The customs differ but little from those of Ting-kia-lu (丁家廬 Trengganu).

Men and women do up their hair in a knot, and wear a long cotton shirt tied around with a piece of cotton. The wealthy women wear on the crown of their heads a number of gold rings, while ordinary people make rings of coloured beads to keep their hair in order.

Discussions concerning marriage are settled with five *tsao* (造)²⁾ which is the equivalent of five candareens weight of pure silver.

The people boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment the juice of the cocoa-nut to make spirits. They have a ruler.

The native products are *huang-shou hsiang t'ou* (gharu-wood), *ch'ên* and *su* (gharu-wood), *ta-pai* perfume (打白香),³⁾ camphor, tin, and coarse laka-wood.

The goods used in trading are various coloured taffetas, Shê-p'o (Java) cottons, copper and ironware, lacquer-ware, and musical instruments.

13 (2). *Hsing ch'ü shêng lan*. 15. P'ENG-K'ENG (彭坑).

This locality is to the west of Hsien-lo (Siam). Steep rocky cliffs encircle it, rough and irregular they stretch afar. The island

1) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 136. *Chu-fan-chih*, 1. 8^b (Fo-lo-an) writes the name P'eng-fêng (蓬豐) and says it was a dependency of San-fo-ch'i. G. P. Rouffaer, *Encyclopaedia v. Nederlandsch-Indië*, IV. 390 says, P'eng-k'êng is Panggang or old Pahang.

2) I have no explanation to offer for this term, it probably reproduces some native word for a local currency.

3) *ta-pai hsiang* does not occur elsewhere in this work. I have found no explanation of the term.

(山) is as level as a wall (寨). The soil is fertile, grain sufficiently abundant. The climate is warm. They are fond of magic (尙怪). They cut pieces of aromatic wood to occasion people's death, and with human blood they make sacrifices and pray for good luck and to avert calamity.¹⁾

Both men and women do their hair in a knot and wrap around them a skirt (or kilt, 裙). The women in wealthy families wear four or five gold rings on the tops of their heads, but common people wear rings of coloured beads.

They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment treacle (漿) to make spirits.

The products are two varieties of gharu-wood (*huang-shu hsiang* and *shen-hsiang*), flake camphor, tin (花錫), and laka-wood.

The goods used (in trading) are gold, silver, coloured light silks, Chao-wa (Java) cottons, ironware, musical instruments (鼓板).

14 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 17. KI-LAN-TAN (吉蘭丹). Kalantan.

The country is extensive, the land is poor and arable soil is scarce, but the summer being hot they get in two crops. The climate is uniformly hot. They are ceremonious in their customs.

1) This passage is taken from *Tao i chih lio*, 18 (Ting-kia-lu) *supra*, 21 (1). *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 1, 21^a (P'êng-hêng), says: "This country is in the great broad Ocean; rocky cliffs surround it like the walls of a city (如城). Its prince is fond of the supernatural (好怪); (he) carves scented wood into images of gods, to make human sacrifices and to pray to... (Among its natural products) is a tree which resembles a pine (杉), its seed are like cardamoms, its bark is roughly scaly, its sap is called *p'ien nao* (片腦 "flake camphor") or *lung-nao* (龍腦 "dragon's brains" camphor). If eaten it cures piles"... (Note to text: In the year 1379 P'êng-hêng sent to the court of China a mission with a petition on gold leaf and a present of slaves and various articles. In the year 1414 it sent the high official Su-ma-ku-mên-ti-li (蘇麻固門的里) and others with the tribute).

Conf. *Chu fan chih*, (San-fo-ch'i), where Ki-lan-tan is mentioned among the dependencies of San-fo-ch'i. See also Groeneveldt, *Op. sup. cit.*, 139.

Men and women tie up their hair and wear a short shirt with a black cotton sarong. Whenever there is a festival during the year or a birthday or a wedding they put on long red cotton shifts in compliment thereto.

They boil sea-water to make salt, and occupy themselves weaving cotton. They have a ruler.

The native products are a superior quality of *ch'én* and *su* (gharu-wood), coarse laka-wood, beeswax, turtle-shells, cranes' crests, and betel-nuts.

Outside (this place) there is a small bay, secluded and very deep (索遷極深), with salt water and splendid fish. Here tin is found.

The goods used in trading are *T'ang-t'ou pu* (唐頭布, *lit.*, "Chinese-head cotton"), Chan-ch'êng (Annam) cottons, blue plates, decorated cups, red and green beads, lutes (? 琴阮) and other musical instruments, etc.

15 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 15. HSIA-LAI-WU¹) (遐來物).?

The sinuosities of the island extend for some hundreds of *li* below Ku-lei (古涓). Its soil is from middling to poor. The people revere the goblins (妖怪).

The climate in spring, summer, and autumn is hot, in winter it is slightly cool; people do not suffer from sickness, but if it is not thus, then malaria breaks out and animals die.

1) I have not met with the name Hsia-lai-wu (in Cantonese Ha-loi-mét) elsewhere. It may recall the Kia-lo-hsi (加羅希, in Cantonese Ka-lo-hei) which *Chu-fan-chih*, (San-fo-ch'i) mentions as a dependency (on the Malay Peninsula probably) of San-fo-ch'i. It remains at all events unidentified. Neither have I seen elsewhere the name Ku-lei (in Cantonese Ku-löü), it may be an irregular form for Kedah on the Malay Peninsula, which in an other place called Ko-la (葛刺). See *infra* *Ying yai shéng lan*. 14.

Men and women draw back their hair, have a red turban and wrap around them a blue cotton sarong.

When anyone dies they crush raw camphor, mix it with water, and pour it over the corpse to preserve it, so that it shall not decompose on being buried.

The people boil sea-water to make salt, and make spirits by fermenting the juice of the cocoa-nut. They have a ruler.

The native products include sapan-wood, tortoise-shell, cotton, and betel-nuts.

The goods used in trading are Chan-ch'êng and Hai-nan cottons, iron wire, copper caldrons, red taffetas, coloured cottons, wooden combs, blue chinaware, coarse bowls, and such like things.

16 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 12. TAN-MA-LING (丹馬令). Tembeling(?)

It is the adjacent country to Sha-li-fo-lai-an (沙里佛來安).¹⁾ It is level and extensive. They have more grain than they can consume; as to the newly gathered grain they put it by to wait till it gets old.

In their usages they are frugal. The climate is pleasantly warm. Men and women do up they hair in a knot. Their clothing is a white shirt with a black cotton sarong.

In settling marriages they use satins and brocades (as bargain money) or a certain quantity of tin.

The people boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment millet (小米) to make spirits. They have a ruler.

1) *Chu fan chih*, 1, 7^b—8^a writes the name 單馬令. Sha-li-fo-lai-an is the Fo-lo-an (佛羅安) of *Chu fan chih*, 1, 8^b. It has been identified tentatively with Beranang. Mr. Blagden writes to me: "Tan-ma-ling and Fo-lai-an are great posers. The Têmbeling district and rivers in Northern Pahang have been suggested, but I rather doubt the explanation. As for the second name, I am not satisfied with any explanations of it that I have seen, not even with my own suggestion Patthalung (Badlun").

The native products are superior tin, pearl camphor, turtles' shells, cranes' crests, laka-wood, as also beeswax and *huang-shou hsiang-t'ou* (gharu).

The goods used in trading are Kan-mai (甘理) cotton cloth,¹⁾ red cotton cloth, blue and white porcelain cups, drums. etc.

17 (1). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 16. TUNG-HSI-CHU (東西竺).

Pulo Aor.

These islands in the sea face Lung-ya-mên; in outline they are divided into high massifs facing each other, like Pêng-la (蓬萊) and ten thousand feet apart.²⁾

The soil is barren, unfit for culture. They depend yearly for rice on that brought from other countries and from Tan-yang (諸邦淡洋).³⁾ The climate is varying. They boil sea-water to make salt and ferment cocoa-nuts to make spirits.

1) "Kan-mai cotton cloth" occurs frequently in Wang's book. The only explanation I can offer for it is that Kan-mai is an abbreviated form of Kan-mai-li (甘理里) which *Tao-i-chih-liao*, 96, (*infra*, 83 (1) gives to a country which I identify without much hesitation with the Comore islands. It seems strange that cottons should be brought from there for sale in the Malay Peninsula and other localities mentioned by Wang even more remote, but there is no impossibility in it.

2) Cf. Groeneveldt, *Op. sup. cit.*, 140. *Tao i chih liao Kuang chêng*, 2, 2, accepts the identification with Pulo Aor, placing it S. of Pahang and of Ti-pan-shan (地盤山), Tioman island. The reference to Pêng-lai seems to be to the fairy island of that name.

3) This Tan yang (*lit.*, "flat" or "insipid" Sea) cannot be the Tan-yang on the northern coast of Sumatra which Wang and the authors of the Ming period call Tan-yang (淡洋) Tan-chiang (淡港) and which must be Temiang river, see *infra*. It is just possible that the Tan-yang in the first case may designate the Temiang group of islands N. of Lingga. E. H. Parker, *The island of Sumatra*, 144, is inclined to think there is some connexion between the Tan-yang of the Chinese (which he translates "Insipid Sea", *i. e.*, flat, or not boisterous) with Ibn Batuta's "Still Sea". He says "This remark is particularly interesting, for the journey of Ibn Batuta from Shumutra to China lay, after leaving "Mul Java" (which was connected by land with Shumutra) through the "Still Sea". I think that if there is any connexion between the two names it is of the remotest kind. Another and

Men and women cut their hair and wear a sarong.

The products are betel-nuts, cotton, banana-fibre mats.

The goods used (in trading) are tin, pepper, ironware, and the like.

18 (1). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 19. CH'IU-CHOU (九州).

Pulo Sembilang.

These islands are near Man-la-kia (Malacca).¹⁾ Their products are gharu-wood, both *ch'ên hsiang* and *huang-shou hsiang*. The trees grow close together, the branches covered with a dark green foliage.

In the 7th year of Yung-lo (A.D. 1409) Chêng Ho sent soldiers on the islands to gather aromatic woods; they got six trunks of over eight to nine feet in diameter and sixty to seventy feet long. The aroma was penetrating, the wood had fine black markings.

The natives opened their eyes and stuck out their tongues, saying: "The soldiers of the Heavenly dynasty are as mighty as the gods!"

19 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 39. LUNG-YA-HSI-KIO²⁾ (龍牙犀角).

Lankawi Islands (?).

It is a range of hills, level on the inside but rising aloft from

better explanation of the term Tan-yang as used here it that is refers to the Palembang river which the *Ying yai shêng lan*, 3 (Ch'iu-chiang) calls Tan-chiang (淡港). See *infra*, 25 (1), 25 (2).

1) Cf. Groeneveldt, *Op. sup. cit.*, 139. These islands are usually identified with the Pulo Sembilang. On these varieties of eagle-wood, see Hirth and Rockhill, *Op. sup. cit.*, 207.

2) There can be no doubt that the Lung-ya-hsi-kio of the *Tao i chih lio* is the Lung-ya-ka-mao of the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*, and that they are the same as the Lung-ya-kiao-i (龍牙交椅) of the XVth century Chinese map of Geo. Phillips, *J C B R A S.*, n. s. XXI, 38, which he identifies without question with the Lankawi islands. The conclusion is forced upon us that the form in which this name has reached us through the two Chinese works above cited is corrupt, and that in the case of the *Tao i chih lio* we should read Lung-ya-kio-hsi (in Cantonese Lung-nga-kok-si) and in the case of the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* correct the fourth character to *mao* (貌) to *i* (猊) which would give us Lung-ya-ka-i which is a closer transcription of the native name — Lankāvarī — that that of the other writers.

the outside. The inhabitants live settled all around like ants. The soil is of inferior quality. The climate is half hot. The customs are honest.

Men and women do up their hair in a knot; their teeth are white, they wrap around them a piece of Mai-i (麻逸布) cotton stuff.¹⁾

It is their custom to attach great importance to family relations, if they do not see every single day their elder relatives, they will take wine and presents and go to inquire whether they are well; if they have been drinking the night long they do not see them in their drunkenness.

The people boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment glutinous rice to make spirits. They have a ruler.

The native products are gharu-wood, superior to that of any other foreign part: next there are cranes' crests, laka-wood, honey, and *huang-shou-hsiang t'ou*.

The goods used in trading are native prints, Pa-tu-la cotton stuffs (八都刺),²⁾ blue and white porcelain cups, etc.

1) There is no doubt about Ma-i having been, prior to the Ming period, the northern islands of the Philippines, Conf. *Chu fan chih*, (Ma-i), and *Tao i chih lio*, *infra*, 50 (1). They mention cotton and cotton stuffs among the products of these islands. If they found a market in the Lankawi island it seems less strange that stuffs from the Comoro islands (Kan-mai-li) should also reach the Malay Peninsula. It is to be noted that the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* which practically reproduces the text of the *Tao i chih lio* has changed Ma-i into Ma-i-tung (Billiton island), the former place being presumably unknown to him. So likewise in his chapter on Ma-i-tung, he has incorporated information taken from the *Tao i chih lio* where it is given for Ma-i.

2) *Pa-tu-la* cottons are frequently mentioned by this author, the term remains unexplained. It seems unlikely that it can be an error for Pa-tu-ma (八都馬) which Wang gives (25, *infra*, 40 (1)) as the name of an island on which they wore Kan-mai(-li?) cotton sarong. In the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* (*infra*, 19 (2)) it will be noted that this name has lost all meaning for the author gives it as *pa-cha-tu*.

19 (2). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 18. LUNG-YA-KA-MAO (龍牙加貌).

This locality is distant from Ma-i-tung (麻逸凍 Billiton Island) with a fair wind three days journey.¹⁾ The interior is level, the outside is hilly. The people swarm like ants. The climate is constantly hot. The crops in the fields are always ripening. In their customs they esteem honesty.

Men and women do up their hair in a chignon, wrap around them a piece of Ma-i-tung (Billiton) cotton stuff and wear a short shirt.

They attach great importance to showing profound respect to their relatives. If they do not see them for a day, then they take liquor and food and go and ask concerning their health.

They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment glutinous rice (秫) to make spirits.

The country produces gharu-wood, laka-wood, beeswax, cranes' crests, and crystallized sugar.

The goods used (by the Chinese in trading) are coloured chintzes, *pa-cha-tu* (八察都) cotton cloths, blue and white porcelain ware.

20 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 42. LUNG-YA-PO-TI²⁾ (龍牙菩提).?

All around are nothing but hills; rows of rocks form entrances.

1) Geo. Phillips, *JNCBRAS*, XXI, 39, identifies the Lung-ya-kia-erh shan (龍牙加兒山) and the Lung-ya-kia chiang (港) of his old Chinese map with the Indrapura mountain and river in Sumatra. This may be the same locality here mentioned and my suggestion that the last character of Lung-ya-ka-mao be changed to *i* (貌) incorrect, one guess is as good as the other. *Tao i chih lio kuang chêng*, 1, 16^a, says Lung-ya-ka-mao is the Lang-ya hsiu (or hsü, 狼牙偕 or 須) of earlier writers.

2) This name does not occur in this work or in any other of the Ming period. I have put this chapter tentatively among those relating to localities in the Malay Peninsula on account of the name appearing to correspond to an original Lankāpurī which was, I believe the ancient name of the Lankawi islands. The custom referred to of fermenting the root of the *ko* is mentioned by the author of the *Tao i chih lio* (20) as obtaining in Lo-wei (Ligor?), see *supra*, 7 (1). Bretschneider, *Bot. Sinicum*, III, 308, says *ko* is the *Pachyrhizus Thunbergianus*, S. and Z.

There is no cultivation except the planting of yams which they cook with steam in place of (other) food. They store them away, the well-to-do families heap up many rooms full of them, as the Chinese store up grain for food during the year, and what is left over they keep for the following year without its spoiling. They raise fruit in gardens, and gather oysters and shrimps to eat with their yams.

The climate is extremely hot. The customs are simple. Men and women do up their hair in a knot and wear a single garment of silk and cotton with patterns.

They boil sea-water to make salt, and soak the root of the *ko* (葛. *pueraria Thunbergiana*) and ferment the juice to make spirits.

The native products include coarse varieties of aromatics, betelnuts and cocoa-nuts.

The goods used in trading are red and green beads, ivory boxes, shoes of sycee (錠), iron pots, blue and white cotton prints, etc.

21 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 19. JUNG¹) (戒).

It is enclosed by the sinuosities of a stream. (The people are) a tribe of peaceful savages. The highly cultivated fields form a connected strip (田舍連成片); the soil is rich. The climate is irregular, in spring and summer there are heavy rains.

The usages are lowly. Men and women have square heads (方頭). After a child is born they compress all four sides of its head with wooden boards which they remove after two years. They cut their hair every three months (四季祝髮). They wrap a cotton sarong around their bodies.

1) The term JUNG is usually used to designate wild tribes of the West, why it should be used to designate a tribe of the Malay Peninsula or of Indo-China, I cannot say.

They steep glutinous rice in cocoa-nut juice and after a fortnight it becomes spirits but of a very pungent taste, but after two months the taste is like that of the *hai-liu* fruit (海榴結實). They also ferment pomgranates; the flavour of this liquor is sweetish sour, it is good for slaking thirst.

The native products include cardamoms, elephants' tusks, kingfishers' feathers, beeswax, cotton muslins.

The goods used in trading are copper and lacquer ware, blue and white porcelain cups, bowls, pots, and bottles, trade silver (花銀) dark red beads, Wu-lun cottons (巫崙布),¹⁾ etc.

Sumatra and adjacent localities.

22 (1). *Tao i chih liö*. 49. LUNG-YA MÊN²⁾ (龍牙門).

Singapore Strait.

The strait (門) is bordered by two hills of the Tan-ma-hsi barbarians (單馬錫番) which look like dragons' teeth (龍牙, *lung-ya*), between them there is a water-way.

1) Wu-lun is said to have been a dependency of Java, see *infra*, 34 (1). Wu-lun cottons are frequently mentioned in the *Tao i chih liö*.

2) There exists among Western scholars a diversity of views as to the location of this important strait. Some identify it with the Straits of Lingga, while others believe it is the Singapore Straits, or rather the New Harbour (Keppel's Harbour) of Singapore. See Warren D. Barnes, *JSBRAS*, Dec. 1911, pp. 24—25.

The earliest writer to refer to the Straits of Ling-ya appears to be Chao Ju-kua (1225) who says in his *Chu fan chih* (1, 5) that a junk sailing from Ch'üan-chou in Fu-kien in the winter time and with a favourable wind could reach the Lêng-ya mên (凌牙門) after a voyage of a month or more. Here traders paid a toll, after which they made directly for San-fo-ch'i (on the Palembang, or Jambi, river). There seems very little room for doubt that the strait here referred to is the Lingga Strait.

Wang Ta-yüan, writing an hundred and twenty-five years later, tells us in the above translated chapter that Ch'üan-chou junks returning to China from the "Western Seas", after having made Carimon (Great Carimon) island had to pass through the Lung-ya mên. In another passage (*infra*, 24 (1)), he says that San-fo-ch'i (the Jambi district in Sumatra)

The soil is poor and paddy fields few. The climate is hot and in the fourth and fifth moons there are very heavy rains. The people are addicted to piracy.

was a five days sail from the Lung-ya Strait. Elsewhere he tells us that the Strait of Lung-ya mên was inhabited on both sides by a people called Tan-ma hsi. In another chapter (33, Hsien, see *supra*, 5 (1)) he refers to an attack by pirates from Hsien (Siam) on the walled city of Tan-ma-hsi a little while before he wrote his book; an attack which was given up on the unexpected arrival there of a Chinese mission. In still another passage (62, Nan-wu-li, *infra*, 31 (1)) he again refers to the piratical habits of the people of the same locality, although the text gives the name as Niu-tan-hsi (牛單錫), which seems to me to be an error for Tan-ma-hsi. George Phillips' Chinese map places a Tan-ma-hsi on the Malay Peninsula near the "Long waist island" (長腰嶼) which seems probably to be the island of Singapore. There seems little room for doubt that Tan-ma-hsi is the Tamasik of the Nāgarakretāgama (written in 1365).

There is a note written on the XVth century chart in the *Wu pei chih* (武備志, 240), reproduced by George Phillips; he translates it as follows: "Going from Malacca for five watches the vessel sights Sejin Ting and Batu Pahat river (the text has only Shih-ch'ien shan, 射箭山), three watches from which Pesang island (毘宋嶼) is reached, and in five watches more Carima (吉利門) is reached; five watches more S. E. by E. brings the vessel off Long Waist Island (長腰嶼, Singapore) and into the Lingga Straits (龍牙門), through which for five watches on a course E. by a very little N. the White Rock (白礁, Pedra Branca) is reached. (The text on the map says: "吉利門五更船用乙辰及丹辰針取長腰嶼出龍牙門龍牙門用甲卯針五更船取白礁). From Pedra Branca N. E. by N. for five watches the vessel is to the eastward of Se-chuh shan and Tong chuh shan (東西竹山, Pulor Aor), from which a course due N. for a time and then N. E. by N. and then N. by a little E. brings the vessel to the eastward of Pulo Condor (崑崙山)."

The conclusion is forced upon us that the Ling-ya mên of Chao Ju-kua has nothing to do with the Lung-ya mên of subsequent writers, that in the case of the older writer the Straits of Lingga are referred to, while in the case of Wang Ta-yüan and subsequent writers Lung-ya mên is Singapore Straits.¹⁾

In the *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 1, 15 (Man-la-kia) in the sailing directions from Palembang to Wu-hsü (Malacca), it is stated that, "Going from Ch'iu-chiang (Palembang or Jambi) one passes after ten watches to the right of Kuan-hsü (官嶼), then in five watches one arrives at Chang-yao hsü (長腰嶼) and sights San-fo-hsü (三佛嶼) and Ao-yü-hsü (鰲魚嶼). Five watches more and one arrives in the waters

¹⁾ See Shên T'sêng-chih, *Tao i chih lio kuang chêng*, 2, 1.

In ancient times the chief in digging the ground found a bejewelled cap. When the moon is first seen at the beginning of the year is counted the first day of the first moon (正月初); on that day the chief, wearing (this?) cap and putting on his best clothes used to receive the congratulations (of the people). At the present time, however, they exchange presents among themselves (as we do in China).

Men and women live mixed up among the Chinese. Most of them do up their hair in a chignon, and wear a short cotton shirt with a blue cotton sarong tied around them.

The natural products of the country are coarse laka-wood and tin (斗錫). The goods used (by the Chinese) in trading here are

of Kan-pa mên (甘巴門) which flow with great impetuosity (溜迅急); to the right is what is called the Jên-i rocks (仁義之礁); to the left the Niu-wei rocks (牛尾之礁); in front is the Kuei hsü (鬼嶼). Five watches more and one comes to the Pi-tsung hsü (披宗之嶼, Pulo Pisang), and in five watches more to the island of Shih-ch'ien (射箭之山, Sejin Ting), and in five watches more one comes to the Wu-hsü hsün shan (五嶼循山, "The Five Islets Group", Pulo Panjang?) and one has reached this country (of Man-la-kia)

"It is also said that one (can) arrive (at Malacca from Ch'iu-chiang?) by the Strait of the Island of Lung-ya (或曰入由龍牙山門), the shape of which passage is like the horns of a dragon".

Without being able to identify all the points indicated on this course, it seems that it ran east of the island of Lingga (the eastern extremity of which, Jang Point, may be the Kuan hsü of the text), thence by the Rhio Strait between the islands of Bintang and Batam into the Singapore Strait. The Kan-pa mên of the text would seem to be the western extremity of the strait.

The "Strait of the island of Lung-ya" can only be the Strait of Lingga, the author's remark meaning that there was a course which could be steered in going from Palembang to Malacca without going by the previous way, *viâ* the Singapore Strait.

It is noteworthy that in this passage the author, quoting, presumably, the *Chên-wei pien* previously referred to, speaks of Malacca as Wu-hsü, or the "Five Islets", a name which was only used by the Chinese prior to 1409. This may throw some slight light on the date of these "sailing directions", or at least of this one.

red gold, blue satin, cotton prints, Ch'u-chou-fu porcelain, iron caldrons, and such like things.

Neither fine products nor rare objects come from here, all they have is the product of their pillaging of the Ch'üan-chou traders. When (Chinese) junks go to the Western Sea these people let them pass unmolested, but when on the way back they have reached Carimon island (至吉利門) then the junk people get out their armour and padded screens against arrow fire to protect themselves, for, of a certainty, two or three hundred pirate junks will come out to attack them. Sometimes they may have good luck and a favouring wind and they may not catch up with them; if not, then the crews are all butchered and the merchandise made off with in short order.

22 (2). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 17. LUNG-YA MÊN¹) (龍牙門).

This place is to the north-west of San-fo-Ch'i. There is here a passage-way between hills facing each other and which look like dragon' teeth; through this ships must pass. The soil is barren, the crops very poor. The climate is constantly hot. In the fourth and fifth moons it is very rainy.

Men and women do up their hair in a knot; they wear a short shirt and wrap a sarong around them. They are most daring pirates. If a foreign ship happens to come that way they attack it with hundreds of their little boats. If wind and luck are favourable it may escape, if not, they will plunder the ship and put to death crew and passengers.

1) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 79.

23 (1). *Tao i chih li*. 44. PAN-TSU¹) (班率). Paanchor(?)

This locality is the hill back of Lung-ya mên, it is like a coil cut off (at the top), it rises to a hollow-topped summit enclosed in a series of (rising) slopes (*lit.*, coils); as a consequence the people live all around it.

The soil is poor and grain rather scarce. The climate is not regular, for it rains a great deal in summer when it is rather cool.

The people are straightforward. They wear their hair short with a turban of gold brocaded satin, and a red oiled cloth wound around the body.

They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment rice to make a kind of spirits called *ming-kia* (明家). They have a ruler.

The native products include cranes' crests of superior quality, middling quality laka-wood, and cotton.

The goods used in trading are green cotton stuff (綠布), pieces of iron, native cotton prints, dark red gold (紫金),²) porcelain-ware, iron pots, and such like things.

1) *Ming shih*, 326, 11^b, has a brief reference to a country which it calls Ku-li pan-tsu (古里班率) and which frequently came with tribute during the reign of Yung lo. All it says of it is "the soil is barren, the crops sparse; its products are poor. The habits and customs are not good. There is much rain in summer, when it is cold."

Pan-tsu may stand for *Paanchor*, a Malay place name occurring in several places, on the coast of Malacca among others. It may be that Pan-tsu is Batam or Bintang island. Pointly it may stand for Panjang (though the transcription is unusual, 班冲 would probably be the correct one), in which case we might look for it in Pulo Panjang near Bantam (Java).

2) *Ko-ku yao lun*, 4, 10^b, says that *tsu chin* was anciently the name of a half tael coin. "At the present time (*i. e.*, A.D. 1388) it is made with red copper (赤銅) mixed with gold. Real *tsu chin* is not often seen nowadays".

24 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 29. SAN-FO-CH'I (三佛齊). Jambi district.

One arrives in this country after a voyage of five days and nights from the Lung-ya mên (Singapore Strait).

Many of the men have the family name of P'u (蒲). They are fond of fighting both on sea and on land. The fighting men swallow a drug which prevents swords from wounding them, so they are the most daring men in the world.¹⁾

The country is densely populated, the land fertile and beautiful, the climate hot. In the spring and summer it rains continuously.

The usages of the people are honest and pure. Both sexes do up their hair in a chignon and wear a short blue cotton shirt, and wrap around them a piece of *tung-chung* cotton cloth (東冲布).²⁾ As they are fond of cleanliness they have their dwellings on frames over the water. They gather oysters of make *cha* (鮓, chutney).

They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment glutinous rice (秫) to make spirits. They have a ruler.

The native products are plum-blossom (and) flake camphor of middling quality, laka-wood, betel-nut, cottons stuffs, and fine carved wood.

The goods used (by the Chinese) in trading are coloured taffetas, red beads, *ssü pu* (shawls),³⁾ coloured cotton stuffs, copper and iron pots, and such like.

1) The first phrase of this paragraph is a quotation from *Chu-fan chih*, 1, 6^a. The latter part may be derived from *Ling wai tai ta*, 3, 10—11. See Hirth and Rockhill, *op. sup. cit.*, 63. Wang applies the name San-fo-ch'i to the whole region along the Jambi river.

2) *Tung chung* may be an abbreviated form of *Tung-chung-ku-la* (東冲古刺) to which the *Tao i chih lio* devotes a chapter (22, *infra*, 48 (1)) and which appears to have been in Western Borneo.

3) See *supra* 12 (1), Note 2.

According to an old tradition the earth (once upon a time) suddenly broke open and several myriad of cattle came out. The people captured them and ate them; afterwards (or later on) they took bamboos and closed (the crevasse) finally and forever.¹⁾

25 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 41. CH'IU-CHIANG (舊港). Palembang.

From Tan-chiang (淡港) one enters the (Straits of) P'êng-kia môn (彭家門).²⁾ The people use bamboo (rafts) instead of boats. Along the roads there are many brick pagodas. The profit they derive from their fields is double that of other countries. It is a common saying that if grain were planted one year the third year gold grew, meaning that the grain was changed into gold. After a while, people from the Western Ocean, having heard of the fertility of their soil, came in ships and took from the fields some of the bone of the earth (取田內之土骨) to carry back to their fields to establish a current between them and this country (以歸彼田爲之脈); but though they planted grain, but the gold of the fields of Ch'iu-chiang did not grow. This is a strange thing!³⁾

The climate is rather hot. Men and women do up their hair in

1) Taken from *Chu fan chih*, 1, 6^b (San-fo-ch'i). Hirth and Rockhill, *op. sup. cit.*, 61. On the subject of the early relations with Sumatra, see the interesting article of G. P. Rouffaer in *Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, IV, 199—210.

2) That is to say: When one leaves the mouth of the Jambi river or Sungi Sunsang here called "the fresh water estuary or Tan-chiang" one first enters (on the way to the Java Sea) the Straits of Banca (P'êng-kia môn). The *Ying gai shêng lan* (*infra*, 25 (2)) has slightly amended this phrase of the *Tao i chih lio*, as has also the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*.

3) *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, 3, 14^a says "Ch'iu-chiang was called Ya tu (沃土 or the fertile land)", for there was a saying that if one year grain was sown the third year gold grew, meaning that the crops were so abundant that much gold was got by trade."

a chignon and wear a sarong of white cotton. They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment the syrup of the cocoa-nut to make spirits. They have a ruler.

The native products include gharu-wood, (of the *huang-shou-hsiang-t'ou* variety), *kin-yin-hsiang* (金銀香), cotton superior to that of any other foreign country, beeswax, coarse laka-wood, very big cranes' crests, and (real) gharu (沉速) of medium quality.¹⁾

The goods used (by the Chinese) in trading are small coloured Mên-pang beads (門邦九珠), *ki-lin* kernels (麒麟粒), Ch'u-(chou-fu) porcelain-ware (處甕), copper caldrons, coloured cotton stuffs, big and little water-jars and pots, and such like things.²⁾

25 (2). Ying yai shêng lan. 3. Ch'iu-chiang (舊港).

It was anciently called San-fo-ch'i (三佛齊).³⁾ It is also called Po-lin-pang (淳淋邦, Palembang) and is under the rule of Chao-wa (Java). To the east it adjoins Chao-wa, to the west Man-la-kia (Malacca). To the south it reaches to high mountains and

1) *Kin yin hsiang*, in Malay *kemanjan*, is sweet benzoin, see Hirth and Rockhill, *op. sup. cit.*, 198 *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, 3, 17^a, mentions among the products of Ch'iu-chiang naphta (猛火油).

2) I have found no explanation for "coloured Mên-pang beads". *Tao i chih t'io*, 40, describes a locality called Su-mên-pang (蘇門傍) probably in or near Java, perhaps these beads came from there. "Ki-lin kernels" are mentioned again in this work (26) as an article of trade with the natives of Tan-mo (see *infra*, 38 (1)). See also *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 2^b (Hsien-lo). It says "There is a tree the leaves of which are like those of the *ying t'ao* (櫻桃) *Primus pseudocerasus*, Lindl.) the sap of which drips like honey and after a while solidifies and becomes of a dark red colour like glue (膠). It is called *ki-lin chih* (竭); it is injurious if eaten". It seems likely that *chih* (竭) is an error for *li* (粒) "grain, kernel".

3) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 73—75. We have seen that the *Tao i chih t'io* distinguishes San-fo-ch'i and Ch'iu-chiang, applying the first to the whole region of the Jambi river and the second more particularly to the town of Ch'iu-chiang (or Palembang) and its vicinity. In Ma Huan's time the name San-fo-ch'i had ceased to be in use. This chapter was translated by Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 73—75.

on the northwest it goes to the sea-coast. Junks (coming from Ch'iu-chiang) enter the Tan-chiang (淡港), then enter P'êng-kia (彭家, Banka). They have to transfer to small boats to go up the (Tan-) kiang to reach the capital.

Many of the inhabitants are immigrants from Kuang-tung, Chang-chou and Ch'üan-chou.

This country is fertile and the population dense. The soil is good for farming purposes. There is a common saying to the effect that if one season they till the soil the third season they gather rice (收稻), the word *shou* (收) meaning to reap a large space (穫廣).¹⁾

There is a great deal more water than land. The inhabitants are given to fighting on the water. Only the dwellings of the highest officers (將領) are on the banks of the river, the people live scattered about on bamboo rafts tied to a root of a tree or a post, moving on the tidal stream (港) with the rise and fall of the tide.

The habits and customs and the language are the same as in Chao-wa.

In the Hung-wu reign (of the Ming, A.D. 1368—1398) there was a Kuang-tung man called Ch'ên Tsu-i (陳祖義) who being a proscribed man fled to this country and became a chief, plundering ruthlessly passing travellers. In the Yung-lo reign (1403—1424) the Emperor ordered the eunuch Chêng Ho to take command

1) The point of the story is lost in the text. Instead of "they gather rice" we should, of course, read "they gather gold". Ralph Fitch, writing in the last quarter of the 16th century, speaking of Jamba says: Jamba is an Island among the Javao also, from whence come diamants. And the king hath a masse of earth which is golde; it groweth in the middle of a river: and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yeaere; which is when the water is low: and this is the month of April". Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, V, 499 (Hakluyt Soc. edit.). This is evidently another version of this tradition.

of a fleet.¹⁾ When he arrived (in Ch'iu-chiang) there was a Kuang-tung man called Shih-kin-chê (施進者) who laid a complaint against Ch'ên Tsu-i before Chêng Ho. The latter ordered his soldiers to arrest him, and (Ch'ên) Tsu-i suffered decapitation. (Chêng Ho) gave (Shih) Kin(-chê) official rank, and he thereupon returned to Ch'iu-chiang and became chief. On his death, his daughter succeeded him, with power to raise to honours and punish the inefficient as he had done.²⁾

In their habits they are fond of gambling games, such as *pa-kuei* (把龜), chess, and cock-fighting, in all of which they put up stakes in money.

In trading they use Chinese copper cash, (pieces of) cotton cloth, silk, and the like.

The native products include cranes' crests, *huang-lien* (*coptis teeta* rhizomes), laka-wood, gharu-wood, beeswax, and *kin-yin hsiang* which looks like an object made in inlaid silver-ware but black in colour with portions white. The finest kind is that in which the white colour preponderates over the black, the poorest that in which it is mostly black. When burnt it strikes the nose irresistibly. The westerners called So-li prize it.³⁾

The cranes' crest bird (鶴頂鳥) is bigger than a duck. Its

1) According to the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* (*infra*, 25 (3)) Chêng Ho's expedition to Ch'iu-chiang was in 1415. Conf. *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 1, 14^a (San-fo-ch'i). *Ming shih*, 304, 2^b, says that Chêng Ho brought back Ch'ên Tsu-i a prisoner when he returned in 1407 from his first mission. Cf. also *Ming shih*, 324, 19^a and Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 42, 71.

2) *Ming shih*, 324, 19^a, states the facts differently. It says that the Cantonese who aided Chêng Ho to capture Ch'ên Tsu-i was called Shih Kin-k'ing (施進卿). The Emperor rewarded him for his services by conferring on him the title of Ch'iu-chiang Hsüan-wei-ssü (舊港宣慰司). In 1424 on his death his son (Shih) Ki-sün (濟孫) succeeded to the title. Cf. Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 71—72. This statement is important for fixing the earliest date at which Ma Huan can have published his work, it shows that it cannot have been before 1424.

3) Presumably Klings from the east coast of India, or Indians generally. Cf. *supra*, 1 (2).

feathers are black and its neck is long. The bone on its head is over an inch thick, inside it is yellow and outside red; it is altogether very pretty and much prized.¹⁾

The *huo chi* (火鷄 *lit.*, "fire fowl") is bigger than a crane. Its neck is also very long. It has a fleshy red comb (軟紅冠), a pointed bill, feathers the colour of a black sheep (? 青羊), long legs of black colour with such sharp claws that if it inflicts a wound on the stomach of a person he will die. It eats hot charcoal. It does not die in captivity.²⁾

The "fairy deer" (神鹿) is the size of a big pig, about three feet high with short hair, and a pig's snout, and like it with three clefts in the hoofs. It is herbivorous and will not come near strong smelling things.³⁾

Their cattle, sheep (goats?), swine, dogs, fowls, ducks, their esculents and fruits are like those of Chao-wa.

1) The *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, 2, 14^a says: Crane-crests are got from the *mêng-t'ung* (蒙童鳥, the rhinoceros hornbill, *Buceros bicornis*), an aquatic bird with a yellow bill over a foot long. It is used by the people of the South to make wine cups. According to the *Hua i k'ao* (華夷考) this product is obtained from a big sea crane. The natives of the islands kill it at night when nesting in the cliffs. See A. R. Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, 137.

2) The *Hua i k'ao* (as quoted in *Tung hsi yang k'ao*) says: "The *huo-ch'i* comes from Man-la-kia (Malacca), it is of the size of a stork (鶴), mostly of a dark brown colour. It can eat fire and breathe out smoke and fire. Its young are of the size of a goose. The shell of its egg is extremely thick and heavy, it is mottled or white. The natives of the islands greatly prize the eggs which they gather for food." The bird referred to is the *Casuari* of the Malays, our Cassowary. It must have been imported into Sumatra from the Moluccas where it is indigenous. See Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 198.

3) The "fairy deer" seems unquestionably to be, as pointed out by Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 199 (on the authority of the revised edition of the text), the Sumatran tapir, although I had also thought of the hog deer, the *baby ruso* of the Malays. *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 1, 13^b (San-fo-ch'i) says: "The animal called *shen lu* is like a big pig, three feet high, with black hair on the fore past and white on the hind past, a pig's snout and three clefts in its hoofs. It eats herbs".

25 (3). *Hsing ch'a shéng lan*. 10. CH'IU-CHIANG (舊港).

Its old name was Kingdom of San-fo-ch'i. It can be reached from Chao-wa (Java) with a favourable wind in eight days. One reaches it after entering the mouth of the river.

The soil is very rich, twice as rich as elsewhere. There is an old saying that if one year they plant grain in three years gold grows up; meaning that the grain is so abundant that it sells for much gold. So it is that the people are well-to-do.

In their customs they are noisy and fond of dissipation. They are given to fighting on the water.

There is much water and little dry land at this place. The chiefs all build their dwellings on the shore, and their retainers and servants are lodged all around them. All the common people build their dwellings on bamboo rafts which they anchor with poles; should the water rise the rafts float without danger of sinking; should they wish to go elsewhere they pull up the poles and move away with their dwelling without trouble of expense.

At the present time it is under the rule of Chao-wa.

The natural products are *huang-shu hsiang* (gharu-wood), *su hsiang* (gharu-wood), laka-wood, *ch'én hsiang* (gharu-wood), beeswax, cranes' crests. The goods used (in trading) are coloured beads, blue and white porcelain, copper caldrons, coloured cottons and silk stuffs, coloured satins, big and little porcelain jars, and copper cash.

In the 13th year of Yung-lo (1415) Ch'êng Ho and others proceeding with the fleet to foreign parts, the pirate Ch'én Tsu-i (陳祖義) and others, who were plundering foreign traders at San-fo-ch'i sought to attack them, but our fleet commanders laid an ambush, defeated them, captured them alive, and led the pirate chiefs to the Emperor. Hereafter, throughout the length and breadth of the Inner and outer Seas all was tranquil.

26 (1). *Ying yai shêng lan*. 6. A-LU (啞魯). Aru.

To the south it adjoins high mountains. To the north it reaches the sea. To the west it reaches Su-mên-ta-la (Achen). One can reach it by journeying by water from Man-la-kia (Malacca) for four days and nights.¹⁾

There is the Tan-shui chiang (淡水港) which on the east adjoins the wild lands (曠野地) and on which dry rice (旱稻) can be raised.

As to their usages the common people occupy themselves with farming and fishing.

The customs are pure and simple. Their marriage and funeral ceremonies are the same as in Java and Malacca.

In trading they use little (pieces) of cotton cloth called *k'ao-ni* (拷泥).²⁾ Rice, grain, cattle, sheep, fowls, and ducks are very plentiful as is also butter. All the people are Moslims.

The native products include the "flying tiger" (飛虎) of the

1) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 94—96. Aru bay lies within Pulo Kumpei and Pulo Sembilang on the N. W. coast of Sumatra. See *China Sea Directory*, 1, 92. The *Tao i chih li*, 55 (Tan-yang) see *infra*, 27 (1) seems to be the earliest Chinese work to mention it by name, though it gives no description of it. Conf. Groeneveldt, *Notes*, 94, he locates Aru around the mouth of the river Rekan. *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 4, says it was a four days' sail from the Tan shui chiang (Palembang river).

Duarte Barbosa, *op. sup. cit.*, 196, mentions "the Kingdom of Haru, of gentiles, who eat human flesh, and any person whom they can catch, they eat him without any mercy". Conf. Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 298—299.

Hsi yang chao kung tien lu, 2, 4 says of A-lu (阿魯): "This country is some eight hundred li south-west of Man-la-kia (Malacca) — and in four days with a favourable wind it can be reached *via* the Tan shui kiang. It adjoins Su-mên-ta-la to the west, to the south it spreads round big mountains, and to the north it adjoins the sea".

In the *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque* (Hakluyt, Soc. edit., III, 87) it is said that the king of Malacca punished some criminals by having them "roasted und given as food to certain men who are like wild men, from a land which is called Daru, whom the king brought to Malaca to eat those condemned to this death". It seems likely that Daru is the A-lu of the Chinese.

2) Presumably a local native term.

size of a cat or dog, with ash-coloured hair and membranous wings like a bat's. It can fly but not far.¹⁾ There is also *huang-lien hsiang* (rhizomes of *Coptis teeta*) and sweet benzoin (金銀香, *kēmēnyan*), etc.

26 (2). *Hsing ch'a shéng lan*. 20. A-LU (阿魯).

This country faces Ch'iu-chou shan (九州山, Sembilang islands) and can be reached with a favourable wind in three days from Man-la-kia (Malacca). The customs and the climate present but very little difference from those of Su-mên-ta-la (Acheh).

The soil is poor and produces but little. The food of the people consists of bananas and cocoa-nuts.

Both men and women have the upper part of the body bare, they wrap a piece of cotton cloth around them. They make a living by going out on the sea in canoes dug out of a log of wood to catch fish, and by going into the hills to gather rice-camphor and aromatic stuffs. They all carry poisoned arrows and a cross-bow to defend themselves.

The native products are cranes' crests, flake and rice-camphor, (Baroos camphor), which they sell to the trading junks.

The goods used (by the Chinese in trading here) are coloured satins and silks, porcelain-ware and beads.²⁾

1) Probably some variety of flying lizard of the *draco volans* genus, which are common in Sumatra, though they are not so large as our author states, or the flying lemur or gallopithecus, see A. R. Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, 135.

2) *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 4^a (A-lu) says in a note: In the 5th year of Yung lo (1407) its king Su-lu-t'ang Hu-hsien (*i. e.*, Sultan Husein) sent his minister Man-la Ha-san (滿刺哈三) and others in company of the mission from Calicut with tribute to Court". Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 95.

27 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 55. TAN-YANG (淡洋).

Mouth of Tamiang River (Sumatra).

The anchorage (港口) is distant from the official seat over an hundred *li*. Outside (Tan-)yang is the Sea, inside a large river (溪) whose source is over two thousand *li* away, its swift current flows on the surface of the sea, and one stream (or branch, 一流) is clear and sweet (清淡). Frequently sailors passing along this way and being in want of fresh water draw from here, hence the name of "Tan-yang, or sweet water sea". When once it is passed by there is no sea-water found which is not salty.¹⁾

In the hollows of the hills there is arable land but most of it good for nothing. The climate is hot, the habits of the people chaste. Men and women do up their hair in a chignon and wrap around them Liu pu (溜布).²⁾ They have chiefs.

The natural products are laka-wood as aromatic as that of A-lu (亞蘆); the rice though small is of good flavour when cooked.

The goods used (by the Chinese) in trading are dark red gold, iron-ware, coarse bowls (of china-ware?) and such like things.

1) *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 5, places Tan-yang 10 watches west of A-lu. It must be the estuary of the Tamiang river (the big river referred to in the text) to the westward of Ujong Tamiang, Lat. $4^{\circ} 25\frac{1}{2}$ N. Long. $98^{\circ} 17'$ E. on the N.W. coast of Sumatra. The same work (1, 4^b Chan-ch'êng) describes Tan yang among the dependencies of Chan-ch'êng. Pelliot, *BEFEO*, IV, 327, suggests that the *Yüan shih* (17, 9) may have a reference to Tan-yang, under the form 毯陽, in a passage where it speaks of a mission from Sumatra (Su-mu-ta-la) and Ki-mo-la-mao (繼沒刺矛), which Pelliot suggests with great plausibility may be an error for Mo-la-yü (予, the Malaiur of Polo, or Palembang).

I overlooked the above note by Pelliot when I translated this passage in the first part of the present study (*T'oung pao*, XV, 442) and have probably read these names wrongly, or rather divided them wrongly.

2) Presumably a cotton fabric made in the Maldive islands.

27 (2). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 21. TAN-CHIANG (淡港).

This place is adjacent to A-lu, and is distant from Man-la-kia (Malacca) three days journey. It is surrounded by a bay (港) into which a big stream empties which flows out into the sea, retaining for a thousand *li* all the sweet freshness of its waters. Sailors, when once they have passed it find no such other place. It is called Tan-yang.

The soil is rich, the crops are luxuriant. Though the grains of rice are small they are of excellent flavour when cooked.

The soil produces aromatics. The customs of the people are very honest. The climate is constantly hot.

Men and women do up their hair in a knot and wrap around their middle a piece of cotton cloth.

The goods used (by the Chinese in trading) are gold, silver, iron-ware, and porcelain-ware.¹⁾

28 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 53. CHI-SHUI-WAN (急水灣).

Surat Passage, Coast north Sumatra(?)

The bay is below the island of Shih-lu (石綠嶼). The current in it is swift and eddying. When there is no moon and the day and night tides running north and south (月遲延兼以潮汐南北), sailors are unable to make soundings and the junk gets into whirlpools and is unable to get out for a month.²⁾

1) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 93.

2) *Chi shui wan* means "the bay of raging waters"; unlike the other names for points along the Sumatran coast, this is a purely Chinese one. It would seem that it must be either the Surat passage (Sawang Arus Kechil). See *China Sea Pilot*, 1, 60. It is between Kechapa, pulo Bras (the Shih-lu islet of our text) and pulo Angkara, on the N.W., and the promontory of Acheh on the S.E. "It is funnel-shaped, narrowing from about 2 miles to less than 2 cables in width. The tidal stream is rapid, it sets N.E. directly through

Formerly there was a junk of Tu-yüan (昔有度元之艚)¹⁾ which after drifting about in it for twenty odd days was wrecked and everything lost, for, though it grounded in shallow water, the crew and cargo were all swept away. Three men only got on a rock by chance. They stayed there for five days without food and without being able to get back to the junk, eating the while the shell-fish they gathered on the rocks.

While their fate was thus hanging in the balance they saw one day two big tree trunks drifting towards them. They came beside the rock (on which the men were) when they took hold of them with their arms and, driven by the wind, they were so lucky as to float along to Hsü-mên-ta-la (Acheh) without being drowned.

the passage at rates of from 5 to 6 knots an hour at springs. In the narrowest part of the passage eddies render navigation difficult if not dangerous for sailing ships. Sometimes there are whirlpools". It may be, however, that Chi-shui wan the neighbouring Lampujang strait which separates the two islands of pulo Nasi Besar and pulo Bras, and in which the tidal streams also run, according to the same authority, with considerable strength, though, it would seem, not so strongly as in the Surat passage.

Hsi yang chao kung tien lu, 3, 5 gives as follows the course followed by junks going from Malacca to the port of Su-mên-ta-la (Acheh). It leads "by the island of Kia (Ka) wang (or "the island of the false king", 假王之嶼), Ki-pei island (or "Cotton island" 吉貝之嶼), Ki-ku island (or "Chicken-bone island", 鷄骨之嶼), Pulo Medang?), Shuang hsü (or "Double island", 雙嶼. The Brothers islands), Tan hsü (or "Single island", 單嶼, Pulo Berhala). After this the coast of A-lu in Sumatra is reached. Ten watches (*i e.*, 600 *li*) after making the coast off A-lu, one comes to Tan-yang (淡洋 Tamiang bay), fifteen watches (500 *li*) farther on to Ta yü kiang (or "Big fish bay", 大魚港), five watches (300 *li*) more to Pa-la island (巴刺嶼, Balken bay?), five watches (300 *li*) more to the Chi shui wan (or "Bay of raging waters" 急水灣, Surat passage or Lampujang Strait), where there is mud, reefs and roaring billows. Five watches (300 *li*) more and the (port of the) town of Su-mên-ta-la is reached". In a noto (1, 1^b (Chan-chêng) the author says that according to sailing regulations 60 *li* are counted to a watch (更). *Tao i chih lió kuang chéng*, 2, 2^b, locates it in A-lu in north-western angle of the island of Sumatra.

Tung hsi yang k'ao, 4, 6^b mentions also the Chi shui wan, which it says was in Su-mên-ta-la (Acheh).

1) Tu-yüan is not a Chinese name. It may be Malay *tuau* "chief".

29 (1). *Ying yai shêng lan*. 8. LI-TAI (黎代). Lidé.

Li-tai is a little country. To the south it confines on big mountains. To the north it reaches to the sea. To the west it adjoins the country of Nan-po-li (Lambri), and to the south-east it confines on Na-ku-erh.

The inhabitants (of Na-ku-erh) number one to two thousand families. Now they have one man as their lord, but they are subject to the rule of Su-mên-ta-la, and whatever they do or do not do they depend on it (操舍一聽之).

As to their language and kind of clothing they are as in (Su-mên-)ta-la. In the mountains are found great plenty of wild rhinoceros.¹⁾

30 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 54. HUA-MIEN (花面). The Battaks (Sumatra).²⁾

The coast is winding (其山逶迤), the soil marshy but very fertile, so that it produces more than the people need for food.

Men and women prick their faces with a black juice which is the reason for this country being called "the Country of the Tattooed Faces".

1) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 98. The *Tao i chih lio* and the *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* do not mention this district. The text reads the name Li-fa (黎伐) but I have not hesitated to correct the second character to tai (代) as the *Ssü ku ch'üan shu ts'ung shu t'i yao*, 28, 15^a, gives in its synopsis of this work the name as Li-tai. It is the Lidé of de Barros list of Sumatran states; he places it between Pedir on the west and Piradā. See Cordier, *Odoric de Pordenone*, 140—141. Gerini, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 688, identifies it with Rantei Panjang, near Tringading, on the north coast of Sumatra a few miles west of Merdu.

Hsi yang chao kung tien lu, 2, 6^a (Su-mên-ta-la) says "the two countries (of Na-ku-erh and Li-t'ai) submit all their business (羈事) to Su-mên-ta-la".

On Na-ku-erh, cf. *infra*, 30 (2), where the name is given to a mountain.

2) This is the earliest mention of this tribe by Chinese writers, unless the Pa-t'a (拔沓), a dependency of San-fo-ch'i according to *Chu-fan chih* (7^a San-fo-ch'i) is the

The climate is extremely hot. The people in their habits are chaste. They have chieftains (or a chief ruler).

The products of the country are cattle, sheep, fowls, ducks, betel-nuts, sugar-cane, sirih leaves and cotton.

The goods brought there by ships for trade are iron in bars, blue cotton cloth, coarse bowls, blue Ch'u-chou-fu porcelain ware, and such like, but junks come only to this place to supply their daily wants (in provisions) which is all the place furnishes.

30 (2). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 23. HUA-MIEN KUO-WANG

(花面國王).

This kingdom is near Su-mên-ta-la and winds along the shore of the sea of Nan-wu-li. The soil produces a sufficiency of rice. The climate is irregular, the customs of the people boorish. All the men prick in black on their faces flowers and animals. They have apish heads and naked bodies; they wrap a piece of cotton stuff around their loins. The women wrap a piece of coloured cotton stuff around them. They do up their hair in a knot behind. There is great plenty of cattle, sheep, chickens, ducks, and gauze (羅布). The strong do not despoil the weak; high and low eat the products of their own fields; the rich are not proud, the poor are not thievish. It may truly be called a land of goodness.

same. Nicolo di Conti (Ramusio, I, 339^e) speaks of the *Batech* of the island of Taprobana (Sumatra). Cf. Devic and Van der Lith, *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, 126. These writers identify Lidé with the country of the Battaks.

The *Ying yai shêng lan* has a passage on these tattooed people, which it says were also called Na-ku-erh, at the end of the chapter on Su-mên-ta-la, see *infra*, 32 (2).

Hsi yang chao kung tien-lu, 2, 10 (Su-mên-ta-la) says: "to the west of this country (of Su-mên-ta-la) it is called Na-ku-erh with about a thousand families and still farther west is Li-tai with over two thousand families".

Cf. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy*, 674, and G. Phillips, *JCBRAS*, XX, 221.

The native products are aromatics, blue lotuses, and *chin-pu* (近布).

There is a mountain called Na-ku-erh (那姑兒) which produces sulphur. When our fleet was stationed at Su-mên-ta-la some men were sent in a boat to this mountain to get sulphur.¹⁾

The goods used (in trading here) are satins, silks, and porcelain. The ruler was much touched by the Imperial bounty and has constantly sent tribute to court.

31 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 62. NAN-WU-LI (喃呖哩). Lambri.

This place (*i. e.*, the port where Wang Ta-yüan's junk anchored?) is the most important trade-centre of Nan-wu-li. Great mountain-like waves dash against it; it is on the edge of the Jih-yüeh wang Sea (明望洋之際) in which it is doubtful whether there is any land.²⁾

The natives live all over the hills, each family in its own house. Both men and women do up their hair in a knot and leave the upper part of their bodies bare, wrapping a piece of cloth around them as a sarong. The soil is poor, the crops sparse, the climate hot. As to their customs they are given to piracy like the people of Niu-tan-hsi (牛單錫).³⁾

1) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 97. — *China Sea Pilot*, I, 62, says that there is a sulphur mine some two hours walk from the chief village of Pulo Weh on Balahan Bay on the S. W. coast of the island. I have found none other mentioned in this part of the island, though from its volcanic character there must be many deposits of sulphur. Lin-schoten, I, 109 (Hakluyt Soc. edit.) mentions in Sumatra "a hill of Brimstone that burneth continually, and they saye there is a fountaine which runneth pure a simple Balsame (*i. e.*, Naphtha), it hath likewise great store of Silke". Cf. *infra*, 32 (2).

As to the tissue called *chin pu*, I can offer no suggestion as to its nature. The name does not, so far as I know, occur elsewhere.

2) Cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. sup. cit.*, 73. The Jih-yüeh wang yang or "the Sea facing the sun and moon" is the same as the Nan-wu-li yang or Sea of Lambri.

3) It seems highly probable that this name Niu-tan-hsi should be corrected so as to

The native products are cranes' crests, shells of turtles, tortoise-shell and laka-wood, superior to any other in aroma.

The goods used (by the Chinese) in trading here are gold, silver, iron-ware, rose-water, red *ssü pu* (絲布),¹⁾ camphor, porcelain-ware with designs in blue and white, and such like things.

A ship on its homeward voyage may escape the winds and waves and good luck may have carried it clear of all dangers from monsters of the deep, but when passing this place it will without a doubt fall into the tiger's mouth unless it can quickly catch "the violet wind" and make off.²⁾

31 (2). *Ying yai shêng lan*. 9. NAN-PO-LI (南淳里).³⁾

This country borders on the sea. To the east it adjoins Li-tai,

read Tan-ma-hsi (單馬錫) which may have been near Singapore Strait or the Strait of Lingga, but which at all events is mentioned by Wang as a nest of pirates, as apparently was Lambri, which he calls for that reason "a tiger's mouth".

1) Presumably a red muslim, elsewhere called *hsi yang ssü pu* and *hsi yang pu* and which, according to Ma Huan was manufactured in India.

2) On the subject of Lambri, see the travels of Friar Odoric in Cordier's edition of *Cathay and the way thither*, II, 146.

3) See Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 98—99. — *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 8^b (Nan-mo-li) says in a note: "In the 7th year of Yung lo (1409) the king, his ministers and some tens of persons came to the capital on the junks of the mission when they came back".

Gerini, *op. sup. cit.*, 662—664, thought Lambri might be represented by the present village of Lam-barih on the left bank of the Acheh River not far from Kotaraja, the present capital.

The *p'o-so* tree grew in the Western Paradise and bore the fruit of eternal life.

Hsi yang chao kung tien lu, 2, 8^a (Nan-po-li) after referring to the coral tree says "From Sha-li-pa-tan (Jurfattan) steering by the compass for ten days and nights one sights successively the Kuan-yen island (觀延嶼), after that the Chung-yang (or "Central") island (中央嶼). whence sailing by Niu-ling shan (牛嶺山) one arrives in this country (of Lambri). To the east this country confines on Li-tai, to the north-west it adjoins the Ocean, to the south it confines on big mountains... To the north-west of it in the Ocean there is an island which rises straight on high and has a flat top; it is called Mao Shan. West of this island is the Ocean called "Western Sea or Sea of Lambri (Na-mo-li yang)".

Pulo Weh, the north-east easternmost and the largest of the islands off Acheh, has on it

to the north-west it adjoins the sea, and to the south it is adjacent to high mountains, and south of (these) mountains it borders on the sea.

There are hardly one thousand families and all are Mussulmans.

The customs and usages are rough and honest. The king lives in a high building (樓) forty feet high and surrounded by a board fence; it is very orderly and secluded, but the lower part of it has no walls, and cattle and sheep are stabled in it. The people live as in Su-mên-ta-la.

In trading they use copper coins. The native products are cattle, sheep, fowls, and ducks. Rice is scarce, but vegetables and fruit are abundant (as are also) fish and shell-fish. Its laka-wood is of exceptional quality; it is called *lien-hua Chiang-chên* (蓮花降眞, "lotus flower laka-wood"). There are rhinoceros.

To the north-west in the Ocean a half day's distance there is a table island called Mao shan (帽山), or "Hat island" (Pulo Welh). The sea, which is the Western Ocean, is called (Sea of) Namoli (那沒黎, *i. e.*, Sea of Lambri). All ships take their bearings by this island. In the shallow water around the island there grows a tree which is the coral tree. When big it is two to three feet high, its detached branches are as great prizes as if of the *p'o-so* tree (婆娑). The root can be made into balls and utensils.

Around the island there dwell some twenty to thirty families each one of which calls itself king. When one of them is asked who he is, he replies, "*a-ka la-cha*" (阿孤刺楂, Malay, *aka rajá*), which means, "I am a king" and whoever is asked, at once makes the same reply. It is most strange and laughable.

a peak (Lemoh Mati) which rises to a height of 2395 feet and may be seen in clear weather from a distance of 36 miles. *China Sea Pilot*, I, 61.

Ming shih, 326, 10^b, says Cheng Ho's first visit to Lambri was during his mission of 1408, again during his mission of 1417, and finally in his mission of 1430. (*Ibid*, 325, 12^b in the paragraph on Nan-po-li).

It (the Mao-shan?) is under the rule of (Nau-)po-li. It can be reached by ship from Su-mên-ta-la in three days and nights.

32 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 50. HSÜ-WÊN-TA-LA (須文答刺).

Sumatra (Acheh).

(Hsü-wên-ta-la) is shut off (from the sea) by a high range. This place is near the sea; its soil is gravelly and grain is scarce.¹⁾

Both men and women wrap around them a sarong of cotton cloth. Their habits are simple.

Their ruler is very fine in his personal appearance, the colour (of his clothing?) must be changed daily three times, to blue, to black, and to dark red. Further more they must annually put to death some ten men and bathe him in the blood, by which means he will be free from any contagious disease during the whole year; so the people stand in terror of him.

Men and women do up their hair in a knot and wrap a red cotton cloth around them.

The native products are camphor, coarse laka-wood with but slight perfume, cranes crests, and tin. They cultivate the *ch'ieh* tree (茄樹) which grows over ten feet high. After three or four years it does no produce many *ch'ieh* (茄). They pick off the fruit by

1) Samara of Polo, Sumoltra of Friar Odoric. It is generally thought to have stood on the northern coast of Sumatra between Diamond Point and Pedir Point, somewhere about the present Samalangan or on the Teluk Semawe. It seems to me very difficult to reconcile the sailing directions of the *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu* (*supra*, 145) and the report of Juan Serano (beginning of XVIth century, see *infra*, 152) with this location, I would be disposed to seek for it south-east of Acheh Head, say on Daya Bay; my chief argument in favour of this position of this town is based on the position of the Chi shui wan (*supra*, p. 144). If I am wrong; then we must place these rapids near Diamond Point or even south-east of it.

means of ladders. (These fruit) are like water-melons, large ones weigh over ten catties.¹⁾

The goods used in trading here are *hsi-yang-ssü pu*, camphor, rose-water, yellow oiled-cloth umbrellas, blue cotton cloth, coloured satins, and such like articles.

32 (2). *Ying yai shêng lan*. 7. SU-MÊN-TA-LA (蘇門答刺).

Na-ku-erh (那孤兒).

Su-mên-ta-la is the same as the kingdom of Hsü-wên-ta-na (須文達那) of former times. To the south it confines on a big mountain, to the north it reaches to the sea, to the east it like-wise reaches the mountains and confines on the country of A-lu (阿魯); to the north it reaches to the sea and confines on the two little states of Na-ku-erh and Li-tai.

(Su-mên-ta-la) is an important emporium of the Western Seas; one can reach it by travelling south-westward from Man-la-kia (Malacca) with a fair wind in five days and nights. Before reaching it (one arrives at) a village on the sea-coast called Ta-lu-man (答魯蠻) where one leaves the ship and after ten *li* (by land) one comes to the city. It has neither walls nor suburbs. There is a big stream (which passes by it and) flows into the sea. The ebbing and flowing of the tide causes great waves at the mouth (of this river), so that ships are frequently wrecked there.²⁾

1) The ordinary meaning of *ch'ieh* is egg-plant, but there seems to me little doubt, in view of the parallel passage in the *Hsing-ch'a shêng-lan* (*infra*, p. 157) that the durian is meant. Cf. *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, 4, 8^a where the durian is called *kua* (瓜).

2) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 85—87, 94. Ibn Batuta landed at this port of the town of Sumatra. He says (*Voyages*, IV, 229), "We landed at the *bandar* or port which is a large village on the seashore, and where are houses; it is called Sarha, and is four miles from the city (of Sumatra)". Of this city he says (*Ibid.*, 230): "it is a fine and large city with a wooden palisade and towers also of wood".

Juan Serano visited this city in the beginning of the XVIth century; he says: "Having left

Formerly the tattooed-faced king of Na-ku-erh invaded (Su-mên-ta-la) when (its king) in a fight against him was defeated and killed. His son was a weak child unable to avenge him, so his wife in anger cried out: "He who can avenge this, him will I wed, and share with him the sovereignty." There was an old fisherman (漁翁), who on hearing this, led troops, defeated the tattooed-face king and killed him, and restored peace to the country. The queen kept her promise and married the old fisherman and granted him the government of the country.¹⁾

In the 7th year of Yung-lo (A.D. 1409) the king came and offered tribute at court. The Emperor commended him, and in the 10th year (1412) he sent a mission to his country. The pretender (*i. e.*, the son of the killed king), supported by the tribes, had (in the meantime) murdered the king, that is to say the "old fisherman", and his son, Su-kan-li (蘇幹利) at the head of a lot of people

Pedir and gone down the northern coast, I drew towards the south and south-east direction and reached to another country and city which is called Sumatra, in which we saw many merchants; and in a single quarter we counted five hundred changers, besides other quarters where there many others. The people are all dressed in cotton. They navigate with vessels made of a certain wood which looks like canes: they call them *juncos* in the Malay language. See *Description of the coasts of East Africa*, 226, 227 (Hakluyt, Soc. edit.).

Already in Wang Ta-yüan's time the name of Acheh, as synonymous of Su-mên-ta-la, was in use. In the chapter on Chung-ka-lo he uses it, writing it 亞峙. Cf. *Tung hsi yang k'ao*, 4, 3^b—4.

G. P. Rouffaer, *op. sup. cit.*, IV, 387, places the Ta-lu-man of our text on the Teluk Semawe. I am, for reasons given in a previous note (*supra*, 52, n. s.) inclined to look for it farther west on the north coast, possibly even on the west coast.

1) *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 6^a (Su-mên-ta-la) has the following in a footnote: "In the 3^d year of Yung-lo (1405) its king So-tan Ha-nan a-pi-chên (Handal Abidin? See *T'oung pao*, 1900, 344) sent his minister Ali with tribute to court, when a patent of investiture (as a feudal prince of the Empire) was conferred on the king. From the year 1407 to 1431 there came repeated missions from this country bearing tribute and petitions on leaves of gold. In 1435 it asked for a patent of investiture for the heir to the throne".

This work writes the name of the son of the Old fisherman Su-kan-la, as does the *Hsing-ch'a shêng-lan*.

Cf. E. H. Parker, *The Island of Sumatra*, 136—137. (*Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1900).

had fled to hiding in the steep mountains, where, after a while, he had been attacked (by the son of the former king) who had wreaked vengeance on him.

In the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413) the eunuch Chêng Ho arrested him (Su-kan-li) and sent him to the capital (of China) for punishment, and the son of the old king, filled with gratitude, prepared tribute for the Court.

The climate of this country is as hot as summer when the sun is up, and as cool as autumn after sunset. During the fifth and sixth moons malaria is prevalent.

The usages and customs are good and honest. Their language, modes of wooing, and marrying, their funerals and clothing, are the same as in the kingdom of Man-la-kia (Malacca). The people also live as they do there. It is filled with merchandize brought by passing foreign ships.

In trade they use gold and tin coins. The gold coin is called *tí-na-erh* (底那兒, dinar), it weighs five candareens. They principally use tin (coins) in trading.¹⁾

The native products are sulphur which comes from a mountain with deep cavities, no vegetation grows on it; the soil is stony and scorched yellow.

The arable soil is restricted but fit for rice, of which they get

1) *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 5^b (Su-mên-ta-la) says in a note: "They cast a coin of pale gold an inch and 5 tenths in diameter and on both sides of which there are designs. It weighs 3 candareens 5 *li*. One authority says that 48 of them is equal to (重) one tael four candareens in gold. They usually use tin coins".

On the tin coins of the Malay Peninsula and the Maldives, see *Voyage of François Pyrard* (Hakluyt Soc. edit.), i. 232, and the editors exhaustive note on the subject. Pyrard says that in the Maldives the tin coin called *larin* was worth 12000 cauries. See also Sir R. C. Temple on the subject of tin currency in *Indian Antiquary*, Sept. Oct. Nov. 1913.

The Arab writer Wassaf mentions "dinars of red gold". Yule, *Marco Polo* (3^d edit.), II, 349. Ibn Batuta speaks of "red tanga" as in use in his time in Sumatra. They were made I presume of the 赤金 referred to frequently by our Chinese writers.

two crops yearly. There is neither barley nor wheat. Near the hills they have pepper gardens. The vine grows like the Chinese *t'ien-ts'ai* (甜菜), the flowers are yellow, the seeds white. The fruit is first green and when mature red. When half ripe it is picked and dried in the sun. Every hundred catties is worth one tael of pure silver.

They have bananas, sugar-cane, mangoustines, and jack-fruit. There is (a fruit) with foul-smelling leaves (臭葉), it is called *tu-erh-yen* (睹爾焉, Malay *durian*). It is like the Chinese *ki-t'ou-ling* (鷄頭菱 *lit.* "chicken-head water-chestnut"), eight to nine inches long and with pricks (over it). If opened when ripe it is in five or six sections and smells like rotten meat. The pulp (酥) which is white is in fifteen flakes (片) and very sweet. The seeds can be roasted. Sweet ripe oranges (甘橘) are had all the year round; these oranges are not sour, nor do they become sour or soft for a long time; the seeds are white. The *ang-pa* (俺拔, *amra*, mango) is like a shrivelled pear, but slightly longer and with a raw odour. When its skin is removed it can be eaten.

Of vegetables they have the onion, garlic, ginger, mustard, gourds, and water-melons. The gourds can be left for a long time without spoiling. The water-melons have a green rind and red seeds. They are two to three feet long.

They have much cattle and butter (乳酪). All their sheep are black. Their cocks reach seven to eight catties in weight and are of a most delicious flavour when boiled.

They all raise silk worms but do not sort(?) the silk in unreeling it (不省繰絲) and only make figured silks (但成錦).¹⁾

1) *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 5^b (Su-mên-ta-la) has 其蠶繰而不綿 which is to me incomprehensible. Referring to the oranges of this country it says: "Oranges are ripe all the year round. The "lion orange" (獅橘) and the "green orange" (綠橘) do not turn sour and can be stored away".

Na-ku-erh (那孤兒).

The king of Na-ku-erh¹⁾ is also called "King of the Tattooed faces" (花面王). The country is situated to the west of Su-mên-ta-la. It is a little country, scarcely more than a big village. All the people tattoo their faces, hence the name of Hua-mien. There are about a thousand odd families. Arable soil is scarce and paddy fields few. They have swine, fowls, and ducks.

Their clothing, customs, usages, and language are the same as in Su-mên-ta-la.

32 (3). *Hsing ch'a shêng lan*. 22. SU-MÊN-TA-LA (蘇門答刺).²⁾

It was anciently called Hsü-wên-ta-na (須文達那). With a favouring wind it can be reached from Man-la-kia (Malacca) in nine days. There is a village on the sea-coast.

The soil is poor and produces but little. The pepper vine grows very long (生延); it is supported on branches of trees; the leaves are like those of the *pien-tou* bean (扁豆), *dotichos lablab*. *L*). Between the flowers the yellowish white seed hang in bunches like coir-palm seed (櫻櫚子), only the kernels are smaller. The natives reckon a *po-ho* weight (播荷, *bahar*) as equal to three hundred and twenty catties of our standard weight, the price is twenty silver coins weighing six ounces (Chinese weight). There is

1) Na-ku-erh is usually supposed to have been Pedir, see G. P. Rouffaer, *op sup. cit.*, IV, 387, 390.

2) Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 88. *Ming shih*, 325, 7^b—8^a, says that Chêng Ho visited Su-mên-ta-la three times. Su-kan-la, it says, was the younger brother of the "Old king" (*i. e.*, the Old fisherman). In 1415 Chêng Ho when arrived in Sa-mên-ta-la Su-kan-la was ignored by him and, in consequence, attacked the envoy with a considerable force. With the assistance of the tribesmen (loyal to the legitimate rāja) Chêng Ho defeated him with heavy loss, drove him into Lambri, captured him and took him back (to the capital), the legitimate rāja sending a mission to express his thanks.

a gold coin called "gold *ti-na*" (抵納, *dinar*) twenty of which weigh five taels two mace.

The customs of the people are pure and honest. The common people make their living by catching fish with nets; at day-break they go out to sea in dug-out canoes each with a big sail, in the evening they come back.

The men wear a white cotton turban, and a cotton sarong wrapped around the waist. The women do up their hair in a knot, the upper part of their body is bare, around the waist is a piece of coloured stuff.

They have a trailing plant (瓜茄) which they replant every five years when the fruit has become small. There are oranges with a sour-sweet taste and which are constantly in bloom and bearing fruit. The best (of their melon-shaped fruits) has a skin like a lichee and is of the size of a melon. Before (the fruit) is opened it is very bad-smelling like rotten garlic, but when opened there is a kind of pocket with (a pulp in it) like butter, sweet and palatable.

They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment kajang seeds to make liquor. The goods used in trading are blue and white china-ware, copper, iron, Chao-wa (Java) cotton cloths, coloured silk gauzes.

In the 11th year of Yung-lo (A.D. 1413) a usurper called Sukan-la (蘇幹刺) had possessed himself of the throne; the legitimate ruler of the country sent an envoy to our capital to state the facts and ask for help. T'ai-tsung Huang-ti (*i. e.*, Yung-lo) ordered Chêng Ho and others to go with troops and attack and capture the usurper alive. In the 13th year of Yung-lo (1415) he (the king) came and offered tribute to court, all the natives having made their submission.

33 (1). *Tao i chih lio*. 6. LUNG-YEN HSÜ (龍涎嶼). Pulo Rondo(!)

The island is flat, stretching out from north to south. It is a desert waste. Over it hangs a bank of clouds, and the soil is barren, but whenever the sky is clear and the temperature mild and when the wind makes the waves rise, shoals of sea-monsters (龍) come to play and leap near the coast and then they spit their saliva on this island; t'is from this it gets its name (of "Dragon spittle Island").

The colour of this spittle is either black like black incense (烏香)¹⁾ or frequently like pumice-stone. It has a rather rank smell. When it is used in combination with other perfumes its aroma is purer and more far-reaching than that of calambac-wood, sandalwood, musk, gardenia flowers, or gharu-wood; it surpasses all of these.

In former times this place was uninhabited but the natives from other parts (*i. e.*, from the nearby Sumatran coast), using their dug-out canoes, come here to collect the ambergris and sell to other peoples. It is bought with gold, silver, and such things.

1) Cf. *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 9^b (Liu shan kuo), and *infra*, 59 (2). Note. See also Hirth and Rockhill, *op. sup. cit.*, 131, 237.

Although the whale (鯨魚) is described under that name as early as the middle of the fourth century (See B. Laufer, *T'oung pao*, XIV, 341, n. 1), it is nearly invariably referred to by writers such as Chou Ch'ü-fei, Chao Ju-kua and subsequent ones as "a dragon" or "sea-monster". *Yu yang tsa tsu* (IXth century) 17, 4^b, says whales are called *pén-fu* (奔鯨) and *chi* (鯨); it then proceeds to give a very accurate description of them. It adds that the oil from the head of the *pén-fu* was used for feeding lamps.

This "Ambergris Island" has been thought to be Pulo Bras or Lampujang, situated about 20 miles southward of Pulo Rondo. It is the westernmost of the islands off Acheh head. It attains in the middle a height of 2,296 feet above high water. *China Sea Pilot*, 1, 55. *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, 2, 11^a, says it was passed on the voyage to Ceylon between Mao shan (Pulo Weh) and Tsui-lan shan (Great Nicobar?). Both Wang Ta-yüan and Fei Hsin say it was a flat island. For these reasons I think it much more probable that it is Pulo Rondo or Tepurong, which lies to the north-west of Pulo Weh.

The "black incense" is probably the variety of gharu-wood of this name (also called *wu chiao ch'en hsiang* (烏角沉香) mentioned by Chao Ju-kua. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. sup. cit.*, 208.

33 (2). *Hsing ch'a shéng lan*. 24. LUNG-YEN HSÜ (龍涎嶼).

It is a lonely island in the midst of the Sea of Nan-wu-li (Lambri) a day's voyage to the west of Su-mên-ta-la. This island floats on the billows on the face of the ocean, the waves breaking and the clouds drifting over it. Every spring shoals of sea monsters come here and in the gambols they eject their spittle. The natives (of Su-mên-ta-la) come to the island in their dug-out canoes, gather it and go back.

It sometimes happens that there is wind and waves, in which case the men get into the water and while holding on to the side of their boat with one hand reach into the water with the other and get it.

When first brought ashore this ambergris is like greasy gum of a blackish yellow colour, with rather a fishy smell.

In the course of time large lumps get formed, as big as a bushel; these are cut out of the bellies of big fishes. They also have a perceptible fishy smell.

When burnt (ambergris) has a pure aroma which is most agreeable. This product on the market of Su-mên-ta-la is worth twelve gold coins of the country for one ounce official weight. One catty is worth a hundred and ninety-two gold coins, equal to nine thousand Chinese copper cash; no small price indeed!

1) Cf. Groeneveldt, *op. sup. cit.*, 100. *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*, when referring to the ambergris sold in the markets of Djofar and Mecca calls it *ang-pa-erh hsiang* (俺八兒香), Arabic 'anbar. Cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. sup. cit.*, 128, n. 1.

(To be continued.)